A HUNDRED YEARS OF CATHOLIC PROGRESS

G. ELLIOT ANSTRUTHER

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A HUNDRED YEARS OF CATHOLIC PROGRESS

A HUNDRED YEARS OF CATHOLIC PROGRESS

BEING A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE CHURCH'S FORTUNES IN GREAT BRITAIN SINCE THE TIME OF THE EMANCIPATION ACT

BY
G. ELLIOT ANSTRUTHER

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Censor deputatus

Imprimatur

EDM. CAN. SURMONT
Vicarius generalis

WESTMONASTERII
die 11a Martii, 1929

MADE AND PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

FOREWORD

THE following pages have grown out of the circumstance that some years ago it was my privilege to address many gatherings, up and down the country, under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society. On those occasions the Church's progress in Great Britain was sometimes chosen as the theme of the address ; and a suggestion since made, that the subject-matter should be expanded into a small book for the centenary of Catholic Emancipation, has resulted in the present survey.

Nothing is claimed for this little book in the way of scholarship or the merit of original research. No footnote references are given for any of its statements, for in a work of this character these would seem only pretentious. At the end of the book a list is printed of volumes large and small to which I have gone for particulars : may it be that they have served me well in correctness of dates and other details ! That list itself may appear to some a rather heavy literary battery to have effected such small execution ; but it is due to those authors and reference works by whose aid this book has

been made that they should all be mentioned. I am grateful to these my helpers, living and dead; as also to Superiors of religious houses, and other correspondents, who have in no single case failed me in any request for information.

G. E. A.

March, 1929

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A HUNDRED YEARS OF CATHOLIC PROGRESS

CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS IN 1829—"LEST WE FORGET"

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS IN GREAT BRITAIN A HUNDRED YEARS AGO—SOME CONQUERED DIFFICULTIES—THE VICARS-APOSTOLIC—CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS—RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND CONGREGATIONS—THE CATHOLIC PRESS IN 1829—CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION

ACCORDING to dates supplied in the *Catholic Directory*, about 280 of our present churches in England and Wales—chapels in convents and institutions are not included in the figure—have a parochial history going back further than 1829. To these may be added between forty and fifty missions for Scotland; and beyond the joint figure are chapels, domestic or other, which since that year have been given up or replaced by newly-created parishes elsewhere. The grand total of churches and chapels for the year of Emancipation has been stated as 395 in England and Wales alone. In the light of these figures it will be well, at the outset of a survey of progress since the Emancipation Act, to keep a sense of proportion as to the actual state

of the Church's fortunes in Great Britain at the time when that measure was being agitated. Ill-service will be done to the memory of those who toiled during the first thirty years or so of the nineteenth century if the substantial fruits of their labours are ignored or lost sight of in the supposition that the Act of 1829 brought the Catholic body in this island "out of the catacombs." Catholic Emancipation paved the way to still bigger and more important developments by enlarging Catholic opportunity. It hastened the pace of recovery, and added a sense of exultation to the virtue of apostolic zeal in those who continued the work of their forefathers. But it marked no sudden epoch of emergence from darkness into light. The torch of faith was already being held high in hundreds of centres ; and the Church's social and educational activity, her charitable organizations, her press, and her defenders were busy in the land according to their measure. We shall appreciate all the better the extent and significance of the vast further strides which have been made if we realize this fact.

Supposing that the Act itself had never come upon the Statute Book : what would have been the position of the Church in Great Britain to-day ? Speculation as to the unknown is an idle exercise ; yet the question tempts the hazard of a view that even in that event a considerable degree of Catholic progress would have fallen to be recounted during these hundred years. Between the close of the period of active persecution, and the time at which this

survey opens, great strides had been made ; and it is surely safe to assume that even had the pre-Emancipation restrictions been still upon them, the faithful would have continued on the path of recovery, consolidating what they had already gained and moving towards fresh developments. For though Statute Law may forbid or hinder the expression of religious zeal, it cannot quicken it : it can only, so to speak, sanction it. Without the Act of 1829 the Catholics of Great Britain, we may be sure, would still have sown that God might give them harvest, though fewer fields would have been open to them and they would have had many more difficulties to overcome by the way.

But this is speculation, and the present book is concerned only with facts. The year 1829 is the starting-point, with the conditions then prevailing. A brief glance at the Catholic strength and organization in that year will show a brighter picture than some may think to have been the case.

In the first place it may be noted that by 1829 the Church in England and Wales had shaken off and recovered from those internal difficulties and controversies which belong to the history of the previous period, from the last decade of the eighteenth century onwards. Differences between seculars and regulars ; questions of jurisdiction over the French émigré priests in England when their bishops also were in the land ; and more than all, perhaps, the long-drawn controversy on the Veto question by

which " Ultramontane " and " Cisalpine " became labels for two differing and sometimes actively opposed camps—all these had passed, leaving the atmosphere clear in which all Catholics alike breathed the breath of relief from old-time disabilities. Many of the chief figures in the internal debates of the century's first thirty years or so had gone from the scene. The most active and in some ways most notable figure of them all, Bishop Milner, died in 1826. Among the few leading protagonists who survived to see the passing of the Emancipation Act was Charles Butler, Milner's *bête noire* and one of the foremost of the Catholic laity of his time. Nephew to Alban Butler the historian, he carried on the family tradition of zeal on behalf of the faith. More than fifty years previously he had been present when Fox spoke, in 1778, in support of the first Catholic Relief Act ; and he was the sole survivor of the Catholic Committee formed in 1782.

Ecclesiastical government in Great Britain in 1829 was in the hands of seven Vicars-Apostolic, four in England and Wales, and three in Scotland. The former country was divided into the London, Midland, Northern, and Western Districts, and so remained until the sub-division in 1840, to be noticed in its proper place. Scotland had three Vicariates : the Eastern, Western, and Northern, the last being a district newly-made only two years previously. Catholic Emancipation found the London District—a term which in its application stretched many miles beyond the Metropolis : on the south the Vicariate

extended to the sea—in the hands of Bishop James Yorke Bramston ; the Midlands were under the care of Bishop Thomas Walsh, later (1840) to be translated to the Central District ; Bishop Thomas Smith was Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern District ; and Bishop Baines, O.S.B., who had succeeded Bishop Collingridge on the latter's death earlier in the year, ruled in the West. In Scotland, where the three Vicariates had been only two years at work, by a readjustment of the territory of the former Lowland and Highland Districts, Bishop Alexander Paterson had the East, Bishop Ranald MacDonald the West, and Bishop James Francis Kyle the North. None of these Vicars-Apostolic lived to become part of a regular hierarchy. With the exception of Bishop Kyle, all were dead at the restoration of the English hierarchy in 1850 ; and he went to his reward some years before the hierarchy in Scotland was restored in 1878. Bishop Baines, it is considered, might have been a Cardinal in Emancipation year ; for Wiseman's *Last Four Popes* states that Leo XII had destined him for that honour, but died (February 10, 1829) before the intention could be carried out.

In matters educational, although a certain number of private schools were here and there catering for the needs of the less well-to-do, there was practically nothing a hundred years ago which even adumbrated the later and greater development represented by the Catholic elementary schools ; but as regards higher education, the principal Catholic schools and

colleges in our midst to-day were already settled institutions in the land. At Ushaw, St. Cuthbert's College was topographically "of age" since the migration, in 1808, from Crook Hall; whilst in the south, St. Edmund's College, then under the rule of Thomas Griffiths, a future Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, had been thirty-six years in its Hertfordshire home. At Ampleforth, and at Downside, the Benedictines carried on their work for education which has developed in each place with such splendid prosperity. The Yorkshire college, with its earlier history at Parbold Hall, had been since 1802 in the house given by Lady Anne Fairfax to the Order—the core, as it were, of the magnificent group of buildings now adorning the hill-side. Fifteen years had passed since the other Benedictine community had gone from Acton Burnell to take possession of their new estate at Downside, in the west. There, too, they had begun a successful battle for independence against the Western Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Baines; and it is to that conflict that we may attribute in part the foundation of another Catholic college then imminent, by the bishop's purchase of Prior Park, Ralph Allen's mansion and estate at Bath, where a few monks from Ampleforth, afterwards secularised by permission of the Holy See, took with them to the new college a number of the Ampleforth students, and began a work chequered later by many difficulties. At Stonyhurst, the Jesuit Fathers, whose formal restoration in England was in 1829 a happy New

Year gift to the Society, had been labouring since 1794; and already their college—at present the largest Catholic public school in England—was famous and widely known. In the Midlands, the school at Oscott, in the old building still standing and known by its later and beautiful name of Maryvale, was making rapid progress under Dr. Henry Weedall; and there was also William Errington's foundation at Sedgley Park, even then an old school, with upwards of sixty-five years' history to its credit. The Dominicans had a school at Hinckley in Leicestershire, begun in 1825, under Father Ambrose Woods, O.P. Among the smaller Catholic private schools in England a hundred years ago, the name of Baylis House, Slough, will occur to many in the South; whilst—to name a few others of which there is record—there was then, and for some time afterwards, the school at Greenwich established by John Graham, and at Carshalton a school kept by William Mylius. In the Midlands Thomas Richmond carried on a school at Codsall House, near Wolverhampton. Catholics in the Liverpool district should not forget Henry Dobson and James Eccles, two of those who had schools in West Lancashire. These names are prominent, but not by any means exhaustive of the list of the private schoolmasters. In some places a small school had been started by a priest.

S Mary's College at Blairs, Aberdeen, can hardly be included as an accomplished fact among our Catholic educational forces at the passing of the

Emancipation Act, for its foundation followed that measure by nearly two months; but a survey of the position in 1829 must not omit mention of Scotland's chief Catholic college, as an undertaking set on foot in that year. And previous to Blairs there was Bishop Hay's college at Aquhorties, in the same county.

The schools mentioned so far have been for boys only. To these should be added such "poor schools," for both sexes, as then existed, by the liberality of Catholics, in the direction of elementary provision. In London, for instance, the East End Catholic Association had been enabled, as the result of an appeal some years previously, to establish schools "upon a more extended system than had before been attempted in the eastern part of the metropolis"; and a chief branch of the Associated Catholic Charities was that of the Education Society. As to girls' schools, these were then, as for the most part they still are, in the hands of religious communities of women. Of such communities, there were already a number in Great Britain in 1829. Not all of them had schools; but the link between the conventual life and education for girls has ever been a close one, and to-day there are a number of communities of women teaching in England who were here a hundred years ago. Historically, the most important religious house of this kind in the country is S Mary's Convent, York—the Bar Convent, to give it its popular name. For about a hundred years, in a period still more remote, this

house of the Institute of Mary was one of the only two nunneries in England, the other being at Hammersmith.

To the French Revolution is due the coming of many of the religious congregations, including contemplative and non-teaching orders, now on English soil : thus, from the point of view of Catholic strength, the one country's adversity was the other's opportunity. This was the case with the orders of men already mentioned, to the extent of restoring Catholic collegiate education for boys. Even more marked had been the effect of the Revolution in giving to England communities of religious women. In 1829 the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre, from Liége, had already been thirty years established at New Hall. The Franciscan convent at Taunton dates from 1808. Others driven overseas included the Poor Clares now at Darlington and previously at Scorton Hall ; the Canonesses of S Augustine at Newton Abbot, formerly at Spetisbury ; the Carmelites at Lanherne, Cornwall, from Antwerp ; and the Cistercian convent at Stapehill, near Wimborne, which after that community's many wanderings in foreign lands formed another house of prayer in the West through the liberality of a Lady Arundell of Wardour. Dominican nuns were at Hartpury Court, Gloucestershire : after several subsequent migrations they acquired their present home at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight. At Shepton Mallet were the Sisters of the Visitation. They began their English residence in 1804, at

Acton, and transferred six years later to the Somersetshire house. This community is now, since 1896, at Harrow, after a long intermediate residence of sixty-five years at Westbury.

Among the Benedictine nuns who played a part in the land at the time of Catholic Emancipation were a number of communities noteworthy by the continued fruitfulness of their labours among us from then until the present time. At Orrell Mount, near Wigan, to which place they had removed, in 1821, from their first English home in Norfolk, the nuns from Montargis had a convent : they are now at S Mary's Priory, Princethorpe, near Rugby. Winchester housed the community which since 1856 has been at East Bergholt. The Ghent Benedictines were at Caverswall Castle, Staffordshire. This community came to England in 1794 and settled in Preston ; they left there for Caverswall in 1811, and finally, in 1853, removed to their present fine convent at Oulton Abbey, near Stone. At another Staffordshire abbey, S Mary's Abbey, Colwich, the nuns can dwell proudly on the thought that 1829 saw the establishment by their community, then at Cannington, near Bridgwater, of the first house of Perpetual Adoration in England, the outflowing of a stream of prayer which has been unceasing in its course during all the hundred years. The Cambray Benedictines, in that year, were at Abbots Salford Hall, a house lent to them by the Berkeley family : this convent was transferred in 1838 to Stanbrook Abbey, Worcester ; and there were also in England

the Dunkirk community, now at S Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth.

To mention these communities is not to exhaust the list, but rather to indicate that while in number the religious houses of women were but few in 1829 compared with the wondrously great development witnessed since then, they were at least appreciable in strength and showed a real measure of Catholic restoration.

Two Catholic year-books kept the faithful of that time well informed in general as to the Church's fortunes and progress : these were, for England and Wales, *The Laity's Directory*, superseded in 1840 by James Smith's *Catholic Directory*, since issued *permissu superiorum ;* and in Scotland a Catholic Directory then in its second year and now, consequently, 102 years old. This latter publication is interesting as having been printed in 1828 and 1829 on a small hand press by the Very Rev. Dr. John MacPherson at Aquhorties. In Catholic journalism the central figure of the time was William Eusebius Andrews (1773–1837), whose constant zeal for starting new papers was never damped by failures, of which he had his share. In 1829 he was running the *Truthteller*, but lack of support brought that particular venture to an end before the close of the year. Undeterred, however, Andrews went on producing Catholic periodicals until the end of his life. Moreover, he was a pioneer in the work of tract distribution, and when Catholic Emancipation became law his organization of " Friends of Civil

and Religious Liberty" had already distributed half a million tracts. Another periodical, the *Catholic Miscellany*, a monthly begun in 1822 by Ambrose Cuddon, was still going in 1829, but ceased in the following year. All this was part of the propaganda in the Church's interests by means of the written word; and with it went the more permanent worth of writings such as those of Dr. Lingard, the seventh volume of whose *History of England* had just issued from the printing press. While not a work of Catholic apologetic as such, Lingard's *History*, by its dispassionate presentation of fact, corrected the distortions and prejudices of many generations of Protestant writing. Others whose pens were busy in Catholic defence included the Rev. John Fletcher († *circa* 1848) and the Rev. Joseph Curr, both of them well-known controversial writers of that time, but now, with their works, almost entirely forgotten.

Catholic charitable organization in England had been long-established, though naturally it was upon a far smaller scale than as we see it to-day. Honourable mention belongs, in particular, to several societies and other organizations which have continued without a break and still carry on their beneficent work. London had—and has—the Aged Poor Society, instituted as far back as 1708; and the Benevolent Society for the Relief of the Aged and Infirm Poor, a charity founded in 1761. The First Catholic Charitable Society of Preston has a history dating from 1731, if not earlier: it was

known in 1829 as "The Catholick Bretheran." The Broughton Catholic Charitable Society, another old Lancashire brotherhood, was started on May 6, 1787. These societies helped their poorer neighbours and others in need in that part of the country. Birmingham Catholics had founded, in 1795, the Catholic Sick and Burial Society, a title altered many years later to the Birmingham Roman Catholic Friendly Society. In Liverpool, the Catholic Female Orphanage was already at work. The secular clergy of the London District had had their Common Fund since 1701, for the support of aged and infirm priests; whilst the New Common Fund had been organized since 1803. In the North, the Northern Brethren's Fund carried on a good work which began in the seventeenth century and still continues for the aged secular clergy of the Hexham and Newcastle diocese.

The foregoing is but a sketchy and imperfect summary of the state of things, religiously, at the time when Emancipation opened more widely the portals of opportunity to the faithful of Great Britain. If the picture is small by comparison with that which later in these pages will strive to depict the position in the same areas to-day, at any rate it points to a by no means negligible something both attempted and done by our Catholic forefathers prior to 1829. A still richer harvest has come since then to the Church of God in England, Wales, and Scotland; but the generations who have reaped it owe many sheaves to the sowers in an earlier time.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST DECADE, 1829–1839

THE EMANCIPATION ACT, A GRUDGED AND GRUDGING MEASURE —WHAT IT DID AND WHAT IT LEFT UNDONE—DIRECT EFFECTS OF THE ACT—THE CASE OF DANIEL O'CONNELL—TEN YEARS OF FURTHER SEED-SOWING—FOUR NOTABLE CONVERTS—MATERIAL PROGRESS—DEATHS AND CHANGES IN THE EPISCOPATE—DEVELOPMENTS IN CATHOLIC JOURNALISM —A LINK WITH THE PENAL TIMES—AGITATION FOR A RESTORED HIERARCHY

THE Act (10 Geo. IV, c. 7), which was passed on April 13, 1829, was entitled "An Act for the Relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects." Its appearance on the Statute Book was not hailed everywhere with enthusiasm among Catholics themselves. Andrews—for an extreme instance—put the next succeeding number of his *Truthteller* into mourning, and gave vent typographically to sorrow for the "Extinction of Civil and Religious Liberty in Ireland through the Political Turpitude of the Catholic Aristocracy, Squirearchy and Lawyers." Few, probably, would have gone so far as that; but in viewing the political boon which had come to them, the Catholics of both islands saw not a disinterested act of justice, but rather a concession wrung in great part by the pressure exerted from Ireland, under O'Connell's leadership, as a sequel to

the state of things created by the Act of Union. They knew, too, that, many years previously, the troubles with Bonaparte had helped to weigh down the scale against those who opposed any idea of giving relief to Catholics. To many individual Protestants whose influence had helped to secure Emancipation, Catholics could be, and were, grateful. Outside the House of Commons they owed a debt, in particular, to Sydney Smith. Those of the present generation who have no acquaintance with *Peter Plymley's Letters* might find it an agreeable exercise to read that work in this the centenary year. The letters, it has been said, fell like sparks on a heap of gunpowder, and by their incisive wit and irony reduced the anti-Catholic opposition to Emancipation by covering the opponents with ridicule. Sydney Smith himself was sturdily Protestant in his doctrinal convictions, so much so that *Peter Plymley* contains more than one jeer, coarsely expressed, at Catholic beliefs. Also, though the witty divine was sincerely on the side of justice in the abstract, and fought the battle for the penalized Catholics with right good will, his pen was particularly moved, in this connection, only at the call of opportunism. He saw a disaffected, because unfairly treated, Ireland as a potential ally with Napoleon, who might—so it was thought—essay a landing of French troops in the Sister Isle. *Peter Plymley* rated John Bull, prodded him and laughed at him, not for the injustice so much as for the blindness to his own interests which went with it. Yet with all this, it

can be said that Sydney Smith was a sincere and warm friend to the Bill; other supporters of the measure had been only lukewarm, and the Catholics, in Ireland especially, knew it. By the time 1829 approached, Napoleon had been long defeated and dead, so that that particular menace was out of the reckoning. George the Fourth liked the idea of emancipating his Catholic subjects as little as his father had done; and though Peel spoke for hours on end in introducing the Bill, his voice was stronger than his heart in the matter. Still, April 13 brought the *fait accompli*. It was but an instalment of liberty, not Liberty itself, nor anything like it.

Looked at from the standpoint of to-day's freedom, the Catholic Emancipation Act may seem to us a poor thing; but we have to look at it not with our own eyes but with those of the contemporary faithful, to whom it meant a good deal that they could enter Parliament, hold most State offices, vote at elections in Great Britain, and in other ways also be politically part of the nation in a sense not hitherto permitted. The Act, however, left Catholics still victims of close and miserable restrictions, which in practice were for the most part wisely ignored. Clause 24 threatened a hundred pounds penalty for the assumption of "the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery in England or Ireland." The letter of this prohibition was respected, as we shall see, at the restoration of the English hierarchy in 1850. Another hundred pounds was the penalty of

wearing, let us say, a chain of office, or presumably even a small official badge, by a Catholic attending his own church. Only in places of religious worship of "the Established Churches of Great Britain or Scotland" might the holder of any judicial, civil, or corporate office appear "in the peculiar habit of his office, or attended with the insignia thereof"—a proviso which in principle struck equally at Catholics and at Protestant Nonconformists. Under Clause 26 Catholic ecclesiastics were forbidden to exercise any of the rites of their religion, or wear the habit of any order, save within the usual places of worship, or in private houses. This clause was invoked in a proclamation by the Government in 1852, and in obedience to it the Oratorian Fathers ceased wearing their cassocks out-of-doors. More recently, in connection with the proposed public procession of the Blessed Sacrament on the occasion of the Eucharistic Congress at Westminster in 1908, certain Government representations, made with a view to avoiding unpleasant "incidents," led to the spectacle, in a modified procession, of members of religious orders walking in secular dress with their proper garb as religious carried on their arms. All this sort of thing was swept away by the Act of 1926.

Still worse were Clauses 28 and 29, which continued the spirit of persecution belonging to older and blacker times: by the former every Jesuit or member of any other Catholic religious society in the kingdom had to register himself, within six months, with the clerk of the peace; whilst the

latter clause laid down banishment for life as the punishment of any Jesuit or member of any religious society as aforesaid convicted of the misdemeanour of coming into the realm. Moreover, it was a misdemeanour also for any Jesuit or member, etc., to admit any person to become a member of such religious order or society; and the person so admitted was made subject, on conviction, to banishment for life. These clauses were directed only against men: the Act was declared, by Clause 37, "not to affect any religious order or establishment of females bound by religious vows." The Emancipation Act left untouched a whole string of grievances which had to wait for redress, in some cases, until a very much later day. Marriages celebrated by Catholic priests were still invalid: this disability was not removed until 1837. Funds for the maintenance of Catholic worship were deemed to be applied to "superstitious uses." Catholic sailors and soldiers could attend only a Protestant service on Sundays, and had to do so by compulsion. As for the new form of Oath, made possible for Catholics by the omission of the previously required anti-Catholic Abjuration, it reflected Protestant suspicion and distrust in almost every line of its text.

Such was Catholic Emancipation. As far as it went, the measure proved no small boon, less perhaps by the volume and worth of its gifts than by the good use which Catholics made of them. Within a very short time of the passing of the Act,

its direct effects were seen in the presence of Catholics in both Houses of Parliament, and as holders, here and there, of judicial, civic, or other offices. At the general election of 1830, following the death of George the Fourth, five English constituencies returned Catholics as their representatives: Carlisle had Mr. P. H. Howard, of Corby; Hedon, Sir Clifford Constable; Horsham, the Earl of Surrey; Pontefract, Mr. Henry Stafford Jerningham; and Steyning, Mr. Edward Blount. Another seat, that of Milborne Port, in the gift of the Marquis of Anglesey, was offered to Richard Lalor Sheil, the dramatist and politician whose efforts had meant so much in connection with O'Connell's agitation in Ireland. Sheil, however, despite his constituency, should count, with about ten others, among the first band of Irish members at Westminster, rather than with the English representatives—more especially because, in the following year, when another election had increased the English Catholics in the House by three, Sheil himself sat as member for Louth. The Earl of Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, was the first Catholic member to take his seat in the Commons. By every right except the right of Statute, that honour should have fallen to Daniel O'Connell. It is a familiar story: how O'Connell had been nominated and elected for Clare before the passing of the Emancipation Act, but was denied his seat, after an historic debate, following the scene at which he had pleaded his case at the Bar of the House, on the ground that the measure

was not retrospective—as indeed was plainly implied in the text itself. The pre-Emancipation oaths were therefore tendered to O'Connell, and these, as a Catholic, he naturally refused to take. His re-election for Clare followed, this time without opposition; but when at length Daniel O'Connell took his seat at Westminster, the dissolution had intervened and he entered the House as member for Waterford.

In the House of Lords three Catholic peers—the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Clifford, and Lord Dormer, took their seats five days after the passing of the Act. Before long they were followed by several others: Lords Petre, Stafford, and Stourton, on May 1, and shortly afterwards the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Arundell of Wardour. The judicial bench had its first Catholic judge since Emancipation by the appointment of Sir Michael O'Loghlen, in 1836, as Baron of the Exchequer: in the following year he became Master of the Rolls. It was not until 1894 that a Catholic held the post of Lord Chief Justice of England, by the elevation to that dignity of Lord Russell of Killowen. Civic office fell early to a Catholic when the Hon. Edward Petre was elected, early in 1830, as Lord Mayor of York; he was also high sheriff for the county, and in the following year six other English counties had elected Catholic sheriffs. Charles Butler, then only a year from his end, was raised in 1831 to the rank of King's Counsel, receiving with that honour a kindly message from William the Fourth. Though not a

matter connected with Emancipation, it may be noted in passing that in 1829 one of England's learned bodies, the Society of Antiquaries, appointed a Catholic, John G. Rokewode, as its director.

Surveying the first decade of the post-Emancipation period, we may say of it that it was more a time of further seed-sowing than a time of harvest. Important coming events were casting their shadows before in the persons of some active converts: in the religious apostolate by the coming, in 1830, of the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer, afterwards Father Ignatius Spencer of the Passionist Congregation; in political campaigning by the conversion, in 1833, of Thomas Chisholm Anstey, in after years a stalwart Parliamentary advocate of Catholic rights; in architectural development, by Augustus Welby Pugin's reception into the Church in the following year; in journalism, by the submission, in 1839, of Frederick Lucas, whose brother and biographer, Edward Lucas, had preceded him in the faith by a few months only. Even more important in adumbration was an event outside the Church: the preaching, in 1833—the year which saw also the starting of *Tracts for the Times*—of Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy," an utterance regarded by Newman as the beginning of the Oxford Movement.

Material Catholic progress, meanwhile, was showing itself in a number of different ways. It would be profitless, and perhaps wearisome, to attempt here a list of churches built in the years 1829–1839, but mention should be made of some of

the more important buildings achieved or begun during that period. The erection of the Cistercian monastery and church of Mount S Bernard, on a site acquired in Charnwood Forest, Leicestershire, represented more than a mere building ; it restored to England one of the most celebrated of her ancient religious orders, and gave us the first monastery to be built in the country since the Dissolution. Mount S Bernard owes its foundation, in 1835, to the generous zeal of an earlier convert, Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, with aid from the Earl of Shrewsbury. At first the monks had only makeshift quarters, until Pugin was given the commission to design the new monastery and church. In its character and permanence the Charnwood Forest community represents, as has just been said, the restoration of the order in England ; but there had been a small body of Trappists in the country earlier in the century. They came from France and settled at Lulworth, but returned to their own country, to the abbey of la Mellerai, near Nantes, in 1817. As it was from that house that the monks of Mount S Bernard came, the latter could claim to be lineal successors of the Lulworth band ; and it may be mentioned also that la Mellerai gave its name as well as its spirit to the famous abbey of Mount Melleray in Ireland. The moving figure in the Leicestershire community was Father Bernard Palmer, O.Cist., a convert, whose subsequent crowning gave England its first mitred abbot since the Reformation.

In 1835 there was begun also the new college at

Oscott, from plans by Mr. Potter of Lichfield. Pugin completed the chapel, opened on May 31, 1838, and the college itself was opened in the following August. At Birmingham, on October 29, 1839, the foundation-stone was laid of another of Pugin's works, the fine church of S Chad, afterwards the Cathedral church of the diocese. Less than three weeks previously S Mary's, Derby, by the same architect, had been opened: already the Gothic revival, at the hands of its gifted but tyrannical exponent, was in course. To Pugin himself the triumph of 1839 was one in his home circle; for in that year the grace of conversion was given to his wife. Science, as well as religion, had by now expressed itself, in a building since famous for its astronomical and geophysical work: the Observatory at Stonyhurst, built in 1838.

To the religious congregations of women, additions had begun, in England, by the coming of the Sisters of the Presentation—Nano Nagle's foundation—to Manchester, in 1833; and the establishment at Bermondsey, five years later, by the efforts of the Rev. P. Butler, of the first English convent of Sisters of Mercy; whilst Scotland, in 1835, had its first convent since the Reformation—the Ursuline community at S Margaret's Convent, Edinburgh. Other events making for spiritual progress were the arrival in England (1835) of Dr. Gentili, the famous Rosminian missionary; the establishment, by Father Spencer, of his crusade of prayer for the country's conversion; and the starting of an English branch

of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith.

Death was busy, during this decade, in the small ranks of the Episcopate. In July 1831, the Northern Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Smith, died, and was succeeded by his coadjutor, Bishop Thomas Penswick. October of the same year saw the death of Bishop Paterson, ruler of the Eastern District of Scotland; and less than twelve months afterwards Scotland lost also its Western Vicar, Bishop MacDonald. These two prelates had as their respective successors Bishop Andrew Carruthers, consecrated in January 1833, and Bishop Andrew Scott, previously coadjutor for the Highland District. The next to die was Bishop Robert Gradwell, coadjutor to the London Vicar-Apostolic: his demise occurred on March 15, 1833; and on July 11, 1836, Bishop Bramston himself passed away, being succeeded by his second coadjutor, Bishop Thomas Griffiths, a former President of S Edmund's College. On January 28, 1836, Bishop Penswick died, the Northern District being thus again bereaved. His coadjutor, Bishop John Briggs, succeeded.

Catholic journalism inaugurated one of its chief and most enduring ventures when Dr. Nicholas Wiseman and Daniel O'Connell started, in 1836, the *Dublin Review*. Many Catholic papers have since then had their day and ceased to be—in the earlier of the years now under notice the indefatigable Andrews was striving again with his *Penny Orthodox*

Journal—and others, lesser veterans to the *Dublin*, remain and will be noticed in due course. For a short time in 1837 the new review had for its editor James Smith—he of the *Catholic Directory*—a pioneer of Catholic journalism in Scotland, where the initial success of his *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine* led to its catering for a still wider public by dropping "Edinburgh" from its title. Another *Catholic Magazine* had been established in 1831 by the influence of Dr. Wiseman. A short-lived Catholic weekly, *The Mediator*, and *British Catholic Advocate*, was started, in 1836, by E. W. Lee, a convert. There had been also, until that year, the *Catholicon*, a magazine formerly printed in Birmingham under another title and edited, among others, by the Rev. Thomas McDonnell, priest at S Peter's, and Dr. John Kirk. The *Penny Catholic Magazine*, begun by Matthew Haynes, made its appearance in 1839.

Almost into this time, that is to say until 1832, when he died, there lived a wonderful old priest who must have marvelled at the contrast presented, by the Catholic growth around him, to his own early religious experiences. The Rev. James Archer, born in November, 1751, was a link with the Penal times. He had filled, as a lad, the office of potboy or some such menial post at the old "Ship" public-house in Little Turnstile, Holborn, where Catholic services were held in secret previous to the first Relief Act of 1778. There the boy attracted the notice of Bishop Challoner, and some years later he

returned from Douai, a priest, to minister at the " Ship " in a higher capacity. An interesting tablet now upon the outer wall of this famous old tavern, since rebuilt, records its association with Catholic worship.

A thought which by now may have occurred to the reader was one ventilated also in the period we are considering. The Catholic Emancipation Act, it was noted, had made a considerable difference, in status, to the laity, but had left the position of ecclesiastics practically unchanged. The State had, in a way, emancipated lay Catholics from an inferior to an equal position with others in the land : would the Church, in turn, raise the ecclesiastical status of the country by giving England once more a regular hierarchy ? Already the question was being agitated, but in the event more than another decade was to pass before the hope was realized. In 1839, however, the announcement was made of a decision by the Holy See which, though it did not restore the hierarchy, marked an important stage in the development of ecclesiastical government : this was, that in place of four Vicars-Apostolic, England and Wales was in future to have eight—a change to which Pope Gregory XVI gave effect on July 3 of the following year.

CHAPTER III

READJUSTMENTS; AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

THE GIFT TO 1840: EIGHT VICARIATES IN PLACE OF FOUR—NICHOLAS PATRICK WISEMAN—TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS AND THE NEW VICARS-APOSTOLIC—STIRRINGS AT OXFORD—*TRACTS FOR THE TIMES*—THE OXFORD MOVEMENT BRIEFLY DESCRIBED—TRACT NINETY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—THE CONDEMNATION OF "IDEAL" WARD—NEWMAN'S RECEPTION—A STREAM OF CONVERSIONS—THE GORHAM JUDGEMENT AND WHAT FOLLOWED

AT the opening of the year 1840, and previous to the sub-division of England and Wales into eight districts instead of four, the Vicars-Apostolic and their territories were, respectively: Bishop Baines, ruling in the Western District; Bishop Briggs, the Northern; Bishop Griffiths, the London; and Bishop Walsh, the Midland. The last-named, a month before the issue of the Brief creating the new Vicariates, had been given as coadjutor Dr. Wiseman, previously rector of the English College at Rome. As that appointment was the beginning of an episcopal career to be fraught later on with very great consequence for Catholic interests in England and Wales, it will be convenient at this point to outline in a few words the earlier career of an illustrious prelate about whom there will be much in the following pages.

Nicholas Patrick Wiseman, the son of James

Wiseman, an Irish merchant who had settled in Spain, was born at Seville in 1802. At three years of age he lost his father and was taken to Ireland, where in due course he was sent to school, at Waterford, and later came to England and entered Ushaw College. An inclination for the priesthood was fostered, and as a boy of sixteen he went to Rome to study at the English College, then restarting its activities after a closure of twenty years on account of the French Revolution. Wiseman was ordained in 1825, having meanwhile taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity in circumstances of great brilliancy; not long afterwards he became vice-rector of the college, a post to be exchanged three years later for that of rector, while he was still under twenty-six. During the first period of his rule his position brought him into touch with many distinguished ecclesiastics, and with statesmen and other public personages from England, both Catholic and Protestant. In these years, also, his high intellectual gifts were still further unfolding themselves, to the admiration of ever-widening circles. As preacher and lecturer Nicholas Wiseman was already winning fame. In 1835 he lectured to large congregations in England, to which country he came again, on a short visit, in 1839. Two months after his consecration, on June 4, 1840, as titular Bishop of Melipotamus, he left the Eternal City, after twenty-two years' residence, and made his new home, as a bishop, at Oscott College.

By the readjustment of territory, three of the

former Vicariates were retained as titles : the London, Northern, and Western ; whilst the new Midland area was henceforth rechristened the Central District. To these were added four new Vicariates : in England, the Eastern, Lancashire, and Yorkshire Districts ; and a Welsh District under the care of the Benedictines. Bishop Griffiths remained at the helm in the London District, as also Bishop Baines in the West, and Bishop Walsh in the Centre ; but in the new Northern District there was a change from the old one, Bishop Briggs taking charge of Yorkshire, and Mgr. Francis George Mostyn becoming, by one of the new episcopal appointments, Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern territory. Bishop Mostyn died in 1847 ; but all three of the remaining new Vicars—Bishop William Wareing in the Eastern District ; Bishop George Hilary Brown for Lancashire ; and his namesake Dom Joseph Brown, O.S.B., the Welsh Vicar-Apostolic—and also Bishop Briggs, lived to become members, ten years later, of the restored hierarchy. Towards the possibility of that event, Catholics continued to turn thoughts of longing, nor was action wanting to the same end. For some years—until in fact the restoration itself automatically put an end to the need—a body of secular priests banded themselves together in an association called " the Adelphi," to work ardently to bring the restored hierarchy about. It is but anticipating events by a few years to mention here that in May 1848 Dr. Ullathorne was in Rome, as delegate from the

English Vicars-Apostolic, to negotiate the matter. But the important happenings of 1850 and the following year must wait to be dealt with in a later chapter.

Meanwhile, the chief interest in religious life in England was centred at Oxford, where the Tractarian movement, as it was popularly termed from its connection with *Tracts for the Times*, was by this time creating alarm in Protestant circles and conversely bringing joy to those Catholics who saw in the growing number of converts from the Establishment a foreshadowing, almost, of the conversion of England. As we have seen, the start of the Oxford Movement was put by Newman as far back as 1833, when John Keble preached his famous assize sermon on National Apostasy. It was not, however, until after 1840 that the Catholic Church in the country experienced in any considerable degree the effect of the movement in unsettling Protestant convictions and helping many among the unsettled, both clergy and laity, towards the grace of conversion. When the stream flowed, it came for a time in such volume that it is hardly surprising if the more optimistic of the faithful rather lost their heads and, so to speak, got their flags ready to hang out upon the dawn of a recatholicized country. They were the extreme cases: the majority were well content, in religious thankfulness, that the Church's sheepfold was enlarging day by day, since this meant the gift of faith to men and women of goodwill.

The story of the Oxford Movement has so often been told that it should not need more than the case in a nutshell to enable any reader of this summary to grasp the threads. A band of young Oxford men, pious and devoted to the Church of England, sought to demonstrate, whether by sermons, lectures, or writings, the "Catholic" character of that State-made institution. Votaries of the Continuity theory, and both intellectually and devotionally at war with the dominantly uncatholic standpoint and practices of the Establishment, their views were embodied in the series of *Tracts for the Times*, which came to a head and exploded the equanimity of the dons in the Rev. John Henry Newman's famous Tract Ninety, published in 1841. In that work it was attempted to make the Anglican formularies patient of a Catholic interpretation in the case of the Thirty-nine Articles. Corruptions, the writer argued, had crept into the Church of Rome in pre-Reformation times, and it was these corruptions which the Articles censured; but the Articles themselves, he urged, admitted the Catholic doctrines in their pure and uncorrupted sense. The argument proved no more convincing in 1841 than it is to-day—and history witnesses that in its main line of reasoning Tract Ninety has been the stock-in-trade of a great many Anglican controversialists for the past eighty-eight years. The Oxford authorities, really startled this time, would have none of it: here was rank Popery. Protests were raised: the Tract was condemned. Some colleges—so Lord Coleridge

wrote years afterwards—" changed the dinner-hour so as to make the hearing of Newman's sermon and a dinner in Hall incompatible transactions." And by way of a caustic touch it is added that " one Dean certainly, who had changed the time of his College dinner to prevent others going, constantly went himself " to listen, at S Mary's, to the addresses of its daring and Romanizing vicar. Newman, it was seen, was intellectually the giant of the Oxford Movement. There have been Catholics who held the view that if Edward Bouverie Pusey had joined the Church he would have ranked as an almost equally great influence in winning souls ; but as Pusey lived and died a faithful Anglican, it profits nothing to indulge that speculation. Keble and Hurrell Froude, poets both, were lesser lights of the Movement : they, too, were of those who remained.

While the hurly-burly swayed men's minds now this way, now that way, Newman retired to the humble cottage at Littlemore, a few miles along the country road from Oxford, which was henceforth his home so long as he remained attached, by already loosened cords of conviction, to the Church of England. His place as leader of the Tractarians, in activity and militancy of action, fell to the Rev. William George Ward, tutor of Balliol. Ward was at that time as near to being a hundred per cent " Romanist " as was possible short of absolute conversion. Not only did he rally vigorously, as a pamphleteer, to the defence of Tract Ninety, for which he was deprived of his tutorship, but he went

far beyond that statement of view. The *British Critic*, a periodical with which Newman had had a good deal to do, was in its last years of life, but it was not to die of polemical inanition. Ward's scorn of everything Anglican provided the substance of a whole series of articles. Against his unashamed Romanism one of his many critics launched a protest. The Tractarian produced in 1844, in reply, his most famous work : *The Ideal of a Christian Church*, a trenchant piece of writing which—to quote Canon William Barry—" put the Church of England on its knees before Rome." Things could not go on like this : the breaking-point of what may be called University Protestant patience had been reached. A meeting in the Sheldonian theatre, called for the triple purpose of (1) condemning the book, (2) depriving its author of his degrees, and (3) requiring all who subscribed the Articles to declare them in the generally held and Protestant sense, passed the first two decrees, but the proctors' *non placet* defeated the third. Ward—henceforth known by the soubriquet of " Ideal " Ward—was degraded academically. By his side, on that occasion, stood one who was later to join him also in the security of Catholic allegiance : the Rev. Frederick Oakeley, incumbent of Margaret Chapel, London, now represented by the well-known Anglican church of All Saints, Margaret Street.

Allowing Keble's assize sermon in 1833 as the starting-point of the Oxford Movement, the date of the Sheldonian meeting, February 13, 1845, may be

assigned as the virtual ending of it. This is the view of most writers on the subject ; for although many prominent converts had yet to make their submission, that joyous further phase may be regarded as the spiritual " clearing-up " of a crusade which had spent its force and, from the point of view of its chief sponsors, had turned out to be in one sense a lamentable failure, in another—infinitely higher and personal—to some of them a glorious success. The Movement set out to create a *via media* by which the Church of England, in their theory of history, was to repossess herself of her heritage from Christian Rome. It closed with the breakdown and rejection of the *via media* in opposite camps and on opposed grounds, and with some of the converts already in the City of Peace and others preparing to go. Had any prophetic gift belonged either to Ward or to Oakeley as they stood that day in the Sheldonian, he would have seen, in the months between then and the close of the year, his own submission, and that of his companion, to Holy Church ; the conversion also of Dalgairns, Faber, Ambrose St John, and many more ; and beyond all, in its influence upon future events, the vision of John Henry Newman on his knees before Father Dominic the Passionist. When these men had gone, the Oxford Movement, in its essentials, was no more. In its stead succeeded a wave of mere ritualistic sympathy and practice, with a new titular : the Tractarians had given place to the Puseyites.

If we now take a broad sweep in time, comprehending the years up to and including 1850, and glance at a number of the Oxford and other converts by name, it will be so that the cumulative importance of their coming may be realized by what they did to advance the Church's interests, in their several ways, after they had come. The survey would have to be an extensive one to embrace the many converts, both men and women, whose gratitude to God for their new-found faith expressed itself in monetary generosity by the founding of new missions, schools, or religious houses; but we must confine ourselves, with one or two exceptions, to men and women who brought other gifts into the fold.

Newman, *facile princeps*, by his intellectual power in its depth and persuasiveness, and by the influence also of his personality. Under the shock of his profession of faith, the Church of England was said to have "reeled"—an overstatement to be attributed to and forgiven in the excitement of the times. Though he led the Oxford converts in fame, Newman lagged behind a number of them in the hour of conversion. More than two years before his own reception, his friend at Littlemore, William Lockhart, stayed the path towards Anglican Orders in response to conviction, and became the first of the Tractarian converts. His defection was at the time a great blow to Newman, still seeking for the *via media*, and it caused the latter's pathetic sermon on "The Parting of Friends"—his last pulpit utterance as an Anglican. Afterwards a notable

priest in the Institute of Charity, Father Lockhart had the happiness, in 1874, of buying back to Catholic use the pre-Reformation chapel in Ely Place, Holborn, now the church of S Etheldreda and London's only ancient house of God to be redeemed from its alien captivity. William Lockhart's conversion led also, though not immediately, to that of his mother, who in later life took an active interest in Catholic journalism; and of his half-sister, Elizabeth Lockhart, foundress of the Anglican Sisterhood at Wantage. Another of the early converts influenced by the Oxford Movement was the Rev. Bernard Smith, afterwards for a great many years priest at Marlow. Smith, it may be recalled, was the man who detected the imminence of Newman's conversion in the circumstance that the future cardinal, punctilious as to clerical dress, had appeared in grey trousers.

Among the converts of 1845, Ward, J. B. Dalgairns, and Ambrose St John all preceded Newman, whose reception, with that of Richard Stanton, afterwards also one of the Oratorians, took place on October 9. Oakeley and Faber followed within a few weeks; and before the year closed, the vicar of S Mary Magdalen's, Oxford, the Rev. Robert A. Coffin, was a Catholic and destined to be later on a Redemptorist and third Bishop of Southwark. S Mary Magdalen's was to give also another of its vicars to the Church—the Rev. Richard Macmullen. Other converts from the Anglican ministry received about this time included the Rev.

Richard Simpson, afterwards connected with the *Rambler* and the *Home and Foreign Review ;* Thomas William Marshall, well known as a Catholic controversialist and the author of *Christian Missions ;* his brother, A. F. Marshall, whose literary monument is *The Comedy of Convocation ;* Edgar Estcourt, well remembered, as Canon Estcourt, by his work in the Birmingham diocese ; Thomas Knox, who subsequently, like several others of the company, joined the Oratorians. There was also Albany Christie, the moving spirit in the editorship of *Catholic Progress* (1878–1881). It was about 1845, too, that a prolific, and in her day, noted woman writer of history, Mrs. Anne Hope, became a Catholic.

The following year, 1846, brought, among many others, Thomas Wilkinson, a future Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle ; James Spencer Northcote, afterwards one of Oscott's greatest Presidents, and famous also as chief author of *Roma Sotterranea ;* Henry Formby, hymnologist and writer on ecclesiastical music ; Lady Georgiana Fullerton the novelist ; David Lewis, formerly curate at S Mary's, Oxford, and now remembered by his scholarly works on S Teresa and S John of the Cross ; Henry Foley, whose labours in the Society of Jesus—he was not a priest, but remained " Brother Foley " to the end of his days—produced the valuable *Records of the English Province ;* and John Morris, later one of the best-known priests in the same Society. This Father Morris, a Cambridge man, should not be

confused with a namesake, John Brande Morris, one of the most distinguished of the Oxford converts, who was received in January of the same year and afterwards became a priest and a member of the Plymouth Chapter. Others received about this time were George Burder, who joined the Cistercians and became Abbot of Mount S Bernard's; Edward Healy Thompson, a literary defender of the faith; F. A. Paley, grandson of the writer of the *Evidences* and himself a classical scholar and author; John G. Wenham, afterwards Provost of Southwark; Howell Lloyd, well known as an archæologist; and Francis Henry Laing, journalistic father of the *Catholic Freethinker*—what a title!—and a voluminous pamphleteer on behalf of the Church of his adoption.

The stream continued to flow, and was soon to gather still greater force. Three more of the future Oratorians—Edward Caswall the poet; John Joseph Gordon, to whose memory the *Dream of Gerontius* was dedicated; and John E. Bowden—had left the Anglican ministry for the Catholic fold before the close of 1848; also, among others, Robert Ornsby, afterwards connected, for a time, with the *Tablet*, and Daniel Haigh, by whose benefaction the beautiful church at Erdington, near Birmingham, became Benedictine property: it is now in the hands of the Redemptorists. An interesting conversion about this time was that of James Burns, the Portman Street publisher, whose name lives on in honourable commercial association but in no other

way : for his only son became a priest, and religion claimed also his widow and all five of his daughters. By becoming a Catholic Burns stood to lose his important Anglican business connections ; but he made the sacrifice, and to assist him in his difficulties Newman gave him the publishing of *Loss and Gain*. Later on, a partner was taken, and " Burns and Lambert " began to appear on the title-pages of many Catholic books ; and some years afterwards another convert, Mr. W. Oates, joined forces. Thus has the conversion of James Burns produced, in successive stages of association, the noted Catholic publishing house now trading as Burns, Oates and Washbourne. It is to a convert also, Mr. W. H. B. Sands, that Catholics owe another publishing house, that of Sands & Company.

Apart from the Romeward trend which accompanied and followed the Oxford Movement as such, an event of 1850 influenced many further conversions by its proclamation in effect that Anglicanism was doctrinally built only upon shifting soil. This was the famous Privy Council decision, in that year, known as the Gorham Judgement. A clergyman of the Establishment, the Rev. G. Gorham, was pulled up by the Bishop of Exeter for teaching what amounted to a denial of baptismal regeneration ; and the Privy Council, invoked in due course for the final judgement, gave one which left that doctrine an open question so far as the Church of England was concerned. Is it to be wondered at that with this state of things before them, the more

Catholic-minded and discerning of the Anglicans saw their own body, and also the Catholic Church, in a clearer light? Among those who became Catholics after the Gorham Judgement was the Rev. William Maskell, whose duty it had been to examine Mr. Gorham as examining chaplain for the Bishop of Exeter; and the Bishop's counsel, Mr. Edward Louth Badeley. When Time rang down the curtain upon 1850 the ranks of the converts had been enlarged by the submission, among others, of Serjeant Bellasis, to whom Newman dedicated the *Grammar of Assent;* Thomas William Allies, author of *The Formation of Christendom;* Charles Laprimaudaye, Manning's curate at Lavington, afterwards an Oblate of S Charles; W. H. Anderdon, Manning's nephew and later a well-known Jesuit priest and writer; C. B. Garside, another who was to employ both the priesthood and the pen in the Church's service; Henry Wilberforce, a future proprietor and editor of the *Catholic Standard*, a periodical afterwards known as the *Weekly Register:* to him Newman dedicated *Callista;* T. E. Bridgett, subsequently a Redemptorist and one of the most prominent members of that Congregation; Sir George Bowyer, founder of the church of S John of Jerusalem in Great Ormond Street, which building now stands re-erected as part of the hospital of SS John and Elizabeth at S John's Wood; James Laird Patterson, afterwards priest and bishop; and —if it may be forgiven to place a distinguished woman last—Augusta Theodosia Drane, famous as

Mother Drane, O.S.D., biographer and author also of devotional and other works.

At this point our survey of the more important of the conversions must be interrupted to consider how things fared with Holy Church in other respects, particularly in that which made 1850 an *annus mirabilis* for the Catholics of England and Wales—the restoration of the hierarchy.

CHAPTER IV

TEN FRUITFUL YEARS

THE "HUNGRY 'FORTIES"—IRELAND'S CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLAND'S CATHOLIC STRENGTH—THE INFLUENCE OF THE CONVERTS—TWO FURTHER MEASURES OF CATHOLIC RELIEF—THOMAS CHISHOLM ANSTEY AND HIS WORK—CHANGES AMONG THE VICARS-APOSTOLIC—SIX FUTURE CATHEDRALS—INCREASES IN RELIGIOUS HOUSES—NEWMAN'S FOUNDATION AT MARYVALE—THE LONDON ORATORY—SOME CONGREGATIONS NEWLY BEGUN IN ENGLAND—EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS—GROWTH OF THE CATHOLIC PRESS—THE VICISSITUDES OF THE *RAMBLER*—SOCIAL AND DEFENSIVE ACTIVITY—SOME STATISTICS OF PROGRESS

THE decade and more represented by the years 1840–1850 marked a great advance in Catholic strength, both numerically and as to buildings and organization. The increase in numbers came from two sources: the wave of conversions due in the main, though not exclusively, to the Oxford Movement; and the large immigration from Ireland, to West Lancashire and Western Scotland especially, in the black years of the Irish famine.

It was in 1845, and again in 1846, that the failure of Ireland's potato crop brought the menace, and all too soon the reality, of starvation to her people. By the latter year the Government had tardily awakened to a sense of responsibility, and considerable though never adequate relief measures were

set on foot, supplemented by charitable funds collected through newspaper and other agencies. The famine-stricken peasantry fled in thousands, many of them settling in England or Scotland within a short distance of the ports of landing, from want of the means to travel further. The descendants of these men and women account for no small part of the Catholic population in Liverpool, Glasgow, and other industrial centres to-day.

With the converts came influences of another kind: intellectual power, social prestige and, to a certain extent, new sources of material wealth. Together, these things counted for much. For one thing, the taunt that the Catholic faith was something which Englishmen had cast off for ever as beneath the sympathies of the national genius, now recoiled upon those who uttered it. Here were the flower and cream of clerical and lay Anglicanism in a continuing stream of submission to Rome. They brought gifts of speech and writing to the work of Catholic defence, and in many cases a conversion was followed by some considerable benefaction in money. In the latter respect the Cistercian monastery at Charnwood Forest, built by the zeal of an earlier convert, and the donation of the property at Erdington, have already been mentioned. To take only two further instances: the conversion, in 1844, of William Leigh, owner of Woodchester Park, gave first to the Passionists, and afterwards—on the migration of those Fathers, in 1850, to Broadway—to the Dominicans, a handsome church and monastery

in that beautiful part of Gloucestershire; whilst the reception a few years later of Lord Feilding, afterwards the eighth Earl of Denbigh, had as a tangible outcome the establishment of the Franciscan Capuchins at Pantasaph.

In the realm of politics there was progress by the passing, in 1844, of a Bill repealing some of the penal laws; and by another, the Religious Opinions Bill, sponsored by the Government and passed in 1846. These measures followed the efforts of a Catholic member referred to in an earlier chapter, Mr. Thomas Chisholm Anstey, to wipe the remaining penal laws from the Statute Book. In theory, indeed in the strict letter of law, many enactments had remained unrepealed by which Catholics were offenders every day of their lives; as, for instance, whenever a priest celebrated Mass, or the faithful assisted at it, without having taken a prescribed oath; or even when a Catholic travelled three miles from home! These and the other statutory insults —for by this time they had become nothing more— Anstey sought to sweep away. Modified success crowned his efforts by the measure of 1844—really a half-measure, since it had jettisoned all contentious clauses. Anstey returned to the charge. He introduced unsuccessfully a Catholic Relief Bill in 1845, and again in 1846; and even after the Religious Opinions Bill had removed some more of the offence, this zealous and persistent convert brought up the Catholic question year after year in the further course of his Parliamentary life. A

generation which has seen almost the last of the penal disabilities removed by the Act of 1926, should not forget what is due to the memory of Thomas Chisholm Anstey, champion of Catholic rights before a prejudiced assembly vastly unlike the House of Commons of our own time. In 1847 his services were rewarded by Pius IX with a Knighthood of S Gregory.

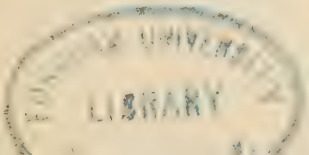
During most of these years a principal centre of propaganda and activity had been maintained in the Catholic Institute, founded in the 'thirties ; but by the time 1847 was reached, new conditions called for new methods. The Institute was dissolved on November 30 and replaced by the Poor Law Committee and Association of S Thomas of Canterbury. Frederick Lucas, of the *Tablet*, was a moving spirit in this reorganization, which he had already effected in part, unofficially, by establishing the Association of S Thomas locally.

Glancing now at changes in the Vicariates during the decade under survey, we note, as the first events, the death of the Western Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop Baines, which took place suddenly at Prior Park on July 6, 1843 ; and the consecration, in the following month, of James Sharples as coadjutor to Bishop George Hilary Brown in the Lancashire District. Bishop Sharples died a few weeks before the formal restoration of the hierarchy. The vacancy in the West was filled in January, 1844, by the consecration of Charles Michael Baggs ; but he lived only until October 16, 1845, being succeeded

in turn by a man who was later to be one of the most prominent figures in the English episcopate—William Bernard Ullathorne, O.S.B. The Northern District, in 1844, was given as coadjutor William Riddell, who died in November, 1847, less than three months after succeeding to the Vicariate by Bishop Mostyn's death. His successor, in 1848, was another of the future Ordinaries—William Hogarth. December, 1846, brought a death in Scotland, that of Bishop Andrew Scott, ruler of the Western District, who was succeeded by his coadjutor, John Murdoch : the latter bishop had as his coadjutor, in the following year, Alexander Smith.

Several important changes, in their effect upon subsequent events, belong to the years 1847–1848. The death of Bishop Griffiths, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, on August 12, 1847, led to the translation of Dr. Wiseman to London, in the same month, as Pro-Vicar-Apostolic. In July of the following year, Bishop Thomas Walsh was translated from the Central to the London District, with Wiseman as his coadjutor. Dr. Ullathorne went from the Western to the Central District ; and Joseph William Hendren, a Franciscan, afterwards first Bishop of Clifton, was consecrated for the West. By the death of Bishop Walsh in February, 1849, Wiseman became Vicar-Apostolic in London, thus creating at Rome a change of plan in the mapping-out of the future, and substituting Macedon for Monmouth when the time came to appoint the first Archbishop of Westminster.

Among the many churches opened during this period were six buildings destined later on to become Cathedrals under the restored hierarchy. S Chad's, Birmingham, was consecrated and opened in June, 1841. In the following year another of Pugin's important works, S Barnabas', Nottingham, had its opening ceremony ; and 1844 saw the opening of S Mary's, Newcastle-on-Tyne. But in this matter 1848 was the prolific year, witnessing as it did the blessing of three future Cathedrals : S George's, Southwark ; S John's, Salford ; and the church of the Twelve Apostles at Clifton. S George's had taken seven years in its making, from the laying of the foundation-stone early in the morning of May 26, 1841, to the opening day—a day to rejoice the heart in particular of Father Thomas Doyle, who did so much to hasten it—on July 4, 1848. A thought of poetic justice must have been in the minds of many who assisted at either of those two ceremonies ; for it was in S George's Fields that the Gordon rioters had assembled in 1780 preparatory to their orgy of arson and looting across the water, and in those same Fields Pugin's great church was built. Five weeks after the opening of S George's, the Vicars-Apostolic—with the exception of Bishop Walsh who was ill—and upwards of two hundred of the clergy, assisted at the similar ceremony at Salford, where the labours of Bishop George Brown and his coadjutor, Bishop Sharples, were crowned in the fine church, designed by Matthew Hadfield, which is now the Cathedral of that diocese. Of the Clifton church



one writes with sympathy in the knowledge of architectural and engineering difficulties besetting its early path, and with admiration for the skill by which those difficulties were afterwards overcome.

In these years, too, the religious orders and congregations in the land continued steadily to increase. A few instances may serve in proof of all. In 1841 the Ven. Father Dominic, C.P., who had been temporarily in England in the previous year, returned and established a Passionist community at Aston Hall, Staffordshire; and later, as already mentioned, the Congregation was at Woodchester. A noteworthy addition to the little band came in 1846 by the reception of the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer, as Father Ignatius, into the Passionist ranks. He was received by Father Dominic; and henceforth these two great missionary apostles were alike in many things: in the spirit and rule of S Paul of the Cross; in devotedness to prayer and work for the conversion of England; in apostolic journeys; and in each case in the tragic suddenness of death. In this last respect the coincidence of circumstance was remarkable. Father Dominic Barberi had a seizure and died at Pangbourne railway station on August 27, 1849; whilst Father Ignatius Spencer, on October 1, 1864, fell dead a short distance from the station at Carstairs at which he had just arrived.

The Redemptorists opened a house at Falmouth, and in 1848 established themselves at Clapham. The Marist Fathers were introduced to England. The

Xaverian Brothers came over and started a school at Bury, in Lancashire. In the Midland District, Newman and his companions also were busy with religious foundations. In 1846, the year which saw the settlement at old Oscott, re-christened Maryvale, Faber established at Cotton Hall, Staffordshire—a gift from the Earl of Shrewsbury—a community to which he had given the name of "Wilfridians," or "Brothers of the Will of God"; but the zeal which so expressed itself was soon turned into another channel. Newman left for Rome on September 7, and when he returned in the following year it was both as priest and Oratorian. In February, 1848, he established the Oratory at Maryvale, whereupon Faber and the other Wilfridians abandoned their design in order to throw themselves in love at the feet of S Philip Neri. They sacrificed their own cherished projects for the common end and nearly all of them became Oratorians. In 1849, Newman and some others of the Fathers removed to S Anne's, Alcester Street, Birmingham, a church too little known to the many pilgrims from afar who seek to draw near to memories of the great leader and Cardinal at his later home in Hagley Road. Faber went south to establish the London Oratory in its first home in King William Street, Strand, a house of prayer which later, after the removal to South Kensington, gave way to a temple of Folly, Toole's "Folly Theatre." In 1850 the London Oratory was made separate from Birmingham.

Among communities of nuns who opened their first houses in England was one representing an original foundation in this country. As compared with other lands—France, of course, in particular—Great Britain has given birth to very few religious congregations ; but one of the few has done remarkable work and has spread with amazing success : the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. This sisterhood was established by Mrs. Cornelia Connelly in 1846 in a convent at Derby, afterwards transferred to St.-Leonard's-on-Sea (other British foundations, though belonging to a later time, are the Poor Servants of the Mother of God, Mother Magdalen Taylor's foundation, 1870 ; the Little Company of Mary, or " Blue Nuns," founded in 1877 at Nottingham ; and the Sisters of S Joseph of Peace, established by Bishop Bagshawe in the same diocese in 1883). Ven. Mother Barat's nuns of the Sacred Heart came to England in 1842. In the following year Lady Mary Arundel brought over to Loughborough a community of Sisters of Providence, the first nuns, it is said, to wear the religious habit publicly in the Midlands since the Reformation. At Coventry, Sister Hallahan—the famous Mother Margaret Mary Hallahan, O.S.D.—began the first English house of Dominican Tertiary sisters. Assumptionists, Servite nuns of the Third Order, and Sisters of Charity of S Paul, were likewise among the congregations of women working in England before 1850 closed.

Catholic secondary and higher education advanced

by the provision of a number of new centres. Among these were Mount S Mary's College, in Derbyshire, founded by the Society of Jesus; S Edward's College, Liverpool; Ratcliffe College, near Leicester, begun by the Fathers of Charity at Calvary House; and the Xaverian Brothers' school at Bury, mentioned above. In London a Catholic Middle School was being organized by Dr. Wiseman in 1848, and was opened in January of the following year. In seminary education, S Edmund's College, which hitherto had been the seminary for the London District, became, in 1850—and so remained until 1869—the joint seminary for Westminster and Southwark. In the latter year Manning removed the theological students to London, and thus Old Hall ceased to be more than a boys' school until restored by Archbishop Bourne for church students also.

Meanwhile there was slow but sure development in regard also to elementary schools. In 1847 a Government grant for education, first made in 1833, admitted Catholic schools to a share. The situation thus created found a response from the Catholic body in the activities of the Catholic Poor School Committee, now merged in the still more comprehensive work of the Catholic Education Council.

Catholic journalism was active in these years. At the beginning of 1840 Mr. George Duncombe Cox, M.D., started at Edinburgh a weekly paper, the *Phœnix*. On May 16 of the same year Frederick Lucas launched the first number of the *Tablet;* and as the latter paper promised to satisfy the need

which had called the former into being, the *Phœnix* returned to its ashes and left the new-comer in possession of the field. About this time, too, *Dolman's Magazine* was running: among its subsequent editors were the versatile Miles Gerald Keon, and the Rev. Edward Price of *Sick Calls* fame. Richardson of Derby issued, in 1844–1847, the *Catholic Weekly Instructor*. The journalistic birth-rate was most prolific, however, in 1848–1849, a period which saw the beginning of the *Catholic Advocate;* the *Catholic School*, a periodical started in August, 1848, by the Catholic Poor School Committee; the *Catholic Pulpit;* the weekly and monthly *Orthodox*, a venture by M. Andrews, son of William Eusebius Andrews; and the *Rambler*. Of these, only the last-named need detain us.

Founded, soon after his conversion, by John Moore Capes, the *Rambler* began its career brilliantly in January. From the first it was largely—one might say almost entirely—in the hands of converts. Ward, Oakeley, and Richard Simpson were among the early contributors, and in character the venture seemed for a time to give the Church a periodical of a high standard of literary usefulness. Later on, however, the liberal views expressed in some of the articles caused anxiety to the Catholic authorities, and also in the mind of Newman, who made representations to Simpson, Capes' successor in the editorship. That it was no idle fear is proved by the circumstance that for a while the founder was out of the Church; but later he was happily reconciled

and died a Catholic. After Simpson left the editorial chair, Newman himself conducted the paper for a time, but in 1859 he retired and the position passed to Sir John—afterwards Lord—Acton, a "born" Catholic of ultra broad views. Again there was trouble. Renewed censure of the *Rambler* brought matters to a head, and the paper ceased in 1862. Simpson, in association with Acton, replaced it by the *Home and Foreign Review*, but this periodical also was opposed by authority and was discontinued two years afterwards. The story of the *Rambler* and its successor is thus a painful one ; yet it would be unjust to deny a tribute to the excellence of a great deal of the matter enshrined in their pages. And of those connected with the undertakings, Richard Simpson in particular can be remembered with gratitude for his fine work on Blessed Edmund Campion.

March 16, 1850, saw the first issue of the *Lamp*, a popular Catholic weekly published by Mr. Thomas Earnshaw Bradley, of York. After a useful life of many years, this periodical was discontinued by absorption under another title.

Of these and other public Catholic periodicals belonging to the period prior to the restoration of the hierarchy, there are to-day but two survivors : the *Dublin Review* and the *Tablet*.

Turning over old newspaper files, one comes upon reports, advertisement notices, and other evidences showing a great deal of activity, in divers ways, in Catholic social work and defensive organization

during these early Victorian years : to some of them reference has already been made. One of Liverpool's admirable charities, the Catholic Blind Asylum, was established in 1841. Father Theobald Mathew's campaign of total abstinence, later to be continued by the League of the Cross, began, so far as Great Britain was included, at Glasgow, in 1842 ; and in the following year it extended to England. Catholics in Scotland, mindful of the axiom that union is strength, started in 1849, at Edinburgh, the Association of S Margaret, formed to protect the Catholic poor and working classes in that country. The establishment of the Catholic Law and General Life Assurance Company, with Wiseman as one of the trustees, in 1846 ; and the Tenants' Benefit Building Society, founded at Manchester in 1850, are further instances of combination among the faithful. In the 'forties, also, the Society of S Vincent de Paul was introduced into England. Social work of a higher kind, joined to religious ministration and the heroism of personal sacrifice, cost the lives of a number of priests in 1847 by devotion to duty during the terrible epidemic of typhus fever at Liverpool. A memorial cross at S Patrick's, Park Place, preserves their names.

It may be interesting, before we consider the greatest of the events of 1850, to note the statistical progress of the faith as shown by tables printed in the *Catholic Directory* for that year ; they may be taken to represent the position at the close of 1849. England and Wales had between them 587 Catholic

churches and chapels, only ten of which were in Wales. In Scotland there were 93 churches and chapels and 26 stations. Great Britain as a whole, therefore, possessed, including the stations, just over seven hundred places of Catholic divine service, and in England 21 new churches were in course of erection. The grand total of priests, in England, Wales, and Scotland together, was 929. Eleven religious houses of men, and 51 of women, can be compared with the figures to-day.

CHAPTER V

"PAPAL AGGRESSION"

THE RESTORATION OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY—*UNIVERSALIS ECCLESIÆ* AND WHAT IT BROUGHT TO ENGLAND AND WALES—THE NEW DIOCESES—SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME—WISEMAN A CARDINAL—THE PASTORAL FROM OUT OF THE FLAMINIAN GATE—PROTESTANT EXCITEMENT—THE DURHAM LETTER—CARDINAL WISEMAN'S *APPEAL*—THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES BILL—AN ACT WITHOUT A DEED—TWENTY YEARS AFTERWARDS

BY Letters Apostolic *Universalis Ecclesiæ*, dated September 29, 1850, Pope Pius IX restored the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales. That for which the faithful had so long yearned and prayed, from the time of his predecessor Gregory XVI, was now an accomplished fact under Pio Nono, who by then had himself tasted the bitterness of deprivation, following the troubles which forced him, in 1848, to flee from Rome to Gaëta, and was again restored to rule in the Eternal City.

The provisions of the Letters Apostolic were briefly as follows: England and Wales were constituted a single Metropolitan province, that of Westminster, with an Archbishop in lawful succession to the Catholic Archbishops of Canterbury. Twelve suffragan sees were created: Beverley, Birmingham, Clifton, Hexham (a title altered, in

1861, to Hexham and Newcastle), Liverpool, Newport and Menevia, Northampton, Nottingham, Plymouth, Salford, Shrewsbury, and Southwark. It will be noted that none of these titles violated the stipulation on the Statute Book against the use by Catholics of any title already held by bishops of the Church of England. Since 1850 there has been duplication over and over again, but it has come in every case from the Establishment itself, which has made bishoprics of Birmingham, Liverpool, Plymouth, and Southwark. Although the Holy See kept carefully within the letter of the law, it was not long before anti-Catholic prejudice urged that the proscription, in its intention, was being broken by the mere use of any territorial title drawn from the map; and as we shall see presently, legislation was invoked to fit a new Parliamentary letter to the old No Popery spirit.

To eight of the new dioceses the Vicars-Apostolic were translated: John Briggs, of the Yorkshire District, to Beverley; William Bernard Ullathorne, O.S.B., of the Central District, to Birmingham; Joseph William Hendren, O.S.F., of the Western District, to Clifton; William Hogarth, of the Northern District, to Hexham; George Hilary Brown, of the Lancashire District, to Liverpool; Thomas Joseph Brown, O.S.B., of the Welsh District, to Newport and Menevia; William Wareing, of the Eastern District, to Northampton; and as Archbishop and Metropolitan, Nicholas Wiseman, of the London District, to Westminster. In the following

year Bishop Hendren was again translated, from Clifton to Nottingham, being succeeded in the former diocese by a newly-consecrated bishop, the Right Rev. Thomas Burgess. The remaining sees also were filled by new elevations : George Errington as Bishop of Plymouth ; William Turner, Bishop of Salford ; James Brown, Bishop of Shrewsbury ; Thomas Grant, Bishop of Southwark. Thus by the end of July, 1851, the restored hierarchy was complete.

So that the story may be kept in one place, it will be well here to record the subsequent developments in the English and Welsh dioceses. The first change in the diocesan territories after the adjustments of 1850 occurred nearly thirty years afterwards, when in 1878 the diocese of Beverley was divided into the two separate dioceses of Leeds and Middlesbrough, Bishop Cornthwaite becoming Bishop of Leeds, and Richard Lacy—still happily with us—being nominated to Middlesbrough, and consecrated in the following year. In 1882 the Diocese of Southwark likewise was divided, part of its territory going to form the Diocese of Portsmouth, with Bishop John Vertue as first Ordinary of the new See. The next change, an important one for Wales, took place in 1895, when the whole of the Principality except Glamorganshire was separated from Newport and Menevia and from Shrewsbury, and was formed by Pope Leo XIII into the Vicariate of Wales, with Francis Mostyn as its Vicar-Apostolic. On May 12, 1898, this Welsh Vicariate was erected into the Diocese

of Menevia, that ancient title having meanwhile ceased to be part of the former diocesan title of Newport and Menevia.

October 28, 1911, is another date of importance, bringing as it did, from Pope Pius X, the Letters Apostolic *Si qua est* by which England was divided into three Metropolitan provinces: Westminster, Birmingham, and Liverpool. To Westminster remained the suffragan Sees of Northampton, Nottingham, Portsmouth, and Southwark; whilst to Birmingham were attached those of Clifton, Menevia, Newport, Plymouth, and Shrewsbury; and to Liverpool those of Hexham and Newcastle, Leeds, Middlesbrough, and Salford. In 1916 the Diocese of Newport was erected into the Archdiocese of Cardiff, with the Most Rev. Dom Romanus Bilsborrow, O.S.B., who had been Bishop of Port Louis since 1911, as its first Metropolitan, and Menevia as a suffragan See.

A division of the Archdiocese of Westminster took place in 1917, the county of Essex being assigned as the territory of a new diocese, Brentwood: its first ruler, as Administrator Apostolic and later (July 20, 1917) as Ordinary, was the Right Rev. Bernard Ward. The last change to note came in 1924, in which year a new diocese in the north—Lancaster—was made out of part of the respective diocesan territories of Hexham and Newcastle and Liverpool, and was placed under the episcopal care of the Right Rev. Dom Wulstan Pearson, O.S.B.

We now return to the events of 1850–1851. Almost simultaneously with *Universalis Ecclesiæ*—that is to say, on the following day, September 30, 1850—Dr. Wiseman was created a Cardinal, as had been foreseen. Exactly a week later came his famous pastoral letter, " given out of the Flaminian Gate of Rome," announcing to the clergy and faithful of the Archdiocese of Westminster and the Diocese of Southwark the glad tidings of the restored hierarchy (the inclusion of Southwark in the diocesan purview of the letter is explained by the fact that Wiseman was Administrator Apostolic of that diocese until the consecration of Bishop Grant in the following year). " If this day we greet you under a new title," his Eminence wrote, " it is not, dearly beloved, with an altered affection " ; and the new title stands proudly and for the first time at the end of the document : " Nicholas, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster."

If Cardinal Wiseman's pastoral, instead of issuing out of the Flaminian Gate, had proclaimed itself as coming from the lion's mouth, it could hardly have filled John Bull with greater apprehension, nor roused him to a more senseless fury, than marked the course of Protestant opinion in the country during the ensuing months. Looking back upon that not very remote time, it seems almost incredible that so much public and political clamour could follow from what, to the popular mind, was no more than a change to territorial dioceses in place of territorial Vicariates—for after all, what were such designa-

tions as " the London District," " the Yorkshire District," " the Welsh District," and the others, if not territorial as the man-in-the-street would understand that expression ?—and the employment of the title " Bishop " in place of " Vicar-Apostolic." The real differences involved, within the Church herself, in matters of status and jurisdiction, between the old and the new situation, would not be within the ordinary Englishman's understanding ; what, then, induced all this national foaming at the mouth ?

Partly, the answer is that the terms " Bishop " and " Archbishop," unknown to the Nonconformist bodies, had become so looked upon as prerogatives of the Establishment exclusively, that their adoption by Catholics for use in England and Wales may have seemed like a challenge to every Anglican mitre. And there was just this about it to lend colour to the fears, that the populace would not know enough about things to distinguish the explicit ban in the Act of 1829 from that which, so they were being told, was implied in it and was now being violated by these Papists. Added to this, we have to allow for the national jealousy, which the newspapers did their utmost to heighten, against anything savouring of the exercise of authority by a foreign power, as the Papacy was deemed to be.

There is no question, at any rate, as to the extent to which the nation as a whole rallied, for the time being, to the No Popery banner. Citizens' meetings were held in one place after another to register the protests of outraged burgesses. Nearly every news-

paper in the land vigorously espoused the Protestant side; even the genial *Punch* lost its geniality in bitter cartoons and text, against which, one records with pride, "Dicky" Doyle threw down his pencil and retired in disgust from the famous Table. One story—apocryphal, but symptomatic—makes Queen Victoria ask plaintively of one of her Ministers: "Am I still Queen of England?" It was the assumed duty of all good Protestants to assure her that she was, and that this act of Papal Aggression should be put down with a firm legislative hand. Actually, the Queen kept calm amidst the storm, and though words were put into her mouth, as Sovereign, when she replied to the Protestant addresses, which pledged her Majesty's determination to uphold her crown and people against all aggression from a foreign power, she herself was above the strife and was not to be drawn into it. The Royal attitude, in fact, drew a tribute from Cardinal Wiseman in a lecture delivered in S George's, Southwark, on December 15, 1850, the second in a course in which he explained the whole position and answered his critics with force and consummate skill. It was not long, however, before the agitation knocked at the door of Parliament, and the Legislature set about the making of the most inglorious chapter in its history in modern times.

Dates are here important, and should be borne in mind. Cardinal Wiseman's pastoral reached London about the middle of October, and was read in the churches on the 20th. *The Times*, in an earlier

sneer at Wiseman's Cardinalate, had said that it was possible that his elevation would be no more significant than if the Pope were to confer the rank and title of Duke of Smithfield upon the editor of the *Tablet;* but the publication of the Brief found Printing House Square in a more serious and truculent mood, leading the first journalistic attacks. On November 3 the Cardinal, then on his way home, wrote a letter to the Premier, Lord John Russell, making clear the purely spiritual character of his new authority. This letter might have done much, and certainly could have saved the Minister from some of the most humiliating days in his political life, had it not been that another letter, hasty and impetuous, had been penned on November 4 by Lord John and was too late for recall when Wiseman's communication reached him. Lord John Russell's letter made history, ugly and stupid history. It was addressed to the Bishop of Durham, in reply to a protest from that prelate against the Pope's "insolent and insidious" act. The Durham Letter, as it is called, gave the sanction of the highest authority in the Government to the popular agitation; and it more than hinted that the law would be set in motion. In a word, Russell, by the Durham Letter, created for himself a position from which he could hardly recede and at the same time save his political face. In the troubles which followed, some of his own side became caustic critics. *Punch,* which had a defamatory pencil always ready for the Pope or the Cardinal, was hardly less cruel to Lord John

when it pilloried him, in Leech's famous cartoon, as the boy who chalked up " No Popery ! " on Wiseman's door and then ran away.

The Durham Letter opened with an expression of the Prime Minister's agreement with the words " insolent and insidious " as applied to " the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism." Hasty of phrase and loose in language, the document went on to urge that " it is impossible to confound the recent measures of the Pope with the division of Scotland into dioceses by the Episcopal Church, or the arrangement of districts in England by the Wesleyan Conference." Lord John saw in the restored hierarchy the exercise of " a pretension to supremacy over the realm of England, and a claim to sole and undivided sway, which is inconsistent with the Queen's supremacy, with the rights of our bishops and clergy, and with the spiritual independence of the nation, as asserted even in Roman Catholic times." In a burst of heroics he declared that " no foreign prince or potentate will be permitted to fasten his fetters upon a nation which has so long and so nobly vindicated its rights to freedom of opinion, civil, political, and religious "—this appeal to national self-righteousness, be it remembered, coming but little more than twenty years after Emancipation. The Bishop of Durham was assured that the then state of the law should be carefully examined, " and the propriety of adopting any proceedings with reference to the recent assumptions of power deliberately considered." The letter

closed with a scolding for the Ritualists, in whose innovations Lord John saw a greater danger than any to be apprehended from Rome.

Cardinal Wiseman, on his part, countered swiftly and well. On November 11 he began the composition of a pamphlet, *An Appeal to the Reason and Good Feeling of the English People, on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy*, and this was ready and published by Richardson eight days afterwards. Its thirty-two pages, packed with argument, were reproduced in full in *The Times* and many other English newspapers. In a clear and temperate statement of the case, upon which his Eminence was congratulated, even if a little grudgingly, by some of the journalists who had been among the first to lose their heads, the Cardinal set out the facts of the case. He showed among other things that non-members of the Church of England did not and need not obey the bishops of that Establishment; that the Emancipation Act forbade only the taking of the names of existing Protestant Sees; that there could be no aggression against the realm in spiritual acts which affected only Catholics themselves; and that with the full knowledge of the Government there had been similar acts in the Colonies. A lengthy analysis and review of the *Appeal*, from a commentator signing himself " John Bull," paid this fine compliment to Wiseman's noble closing passages: " Is there in all our six-millions-a-year hierarchy put together as much genius, wit, eloquence, and nervous dignity, as is competent to produce a peroration which will for

ever remain a jewel in the diadem of British classics ? If Wiseman be not an Englishman, I am sorry for it. His nativity is worth contending for."

The Cardinal's appeal had an immediate effect for good in calming the waves of passion. Reading the leading articles in *The Times* and other organs which appeared immediately upon its publication, it is amusing to look back over the gulf of years and admire the dexterity with which some of their writers began climbing down ; but other papers—the *Daily News* and the *Morning Post* among them—still wrote as implacables, and it would not be true to say, on the whole, that the appeal had a good press. Wiseman triumphed ; but the agitation was not at an end : far from it. There remained for the Cabinet the profound humiliation of having to endorse the Durham Letter so tactlessly launched by their leader without a word of consultation to his colleagues ; this was done by bringing the Papal Aggression up for the judgement of Parliament—a judgement eventually delivered in the shape of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act.

When the Queen opened Parliament on February 4, 1851, the Speech from the Throne put into her Majesty's lips an intimation that a measure would be brought in on the subject of " the recent assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles, conferred by a foreign power." A few days afterwards, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a Bill of four clauses which provided a penalty of £100 for the assumption of titles to pretended Sees ; made all deeds and other

documents void which were executed by or under the authority using such titles ; claimed for the Sovereign all endowments of such pretended Sees or gifts in favour of persons taking such titles ; and required answers on oath from persons liable under the Act, notwithstanding liability to the penalty, in suits as to trusts, etc. The Premier was given a majority of 332, and the measure was duly brought in. Before the time for the second reading, however, the Government was out of office by defeat on another matter, and the Russell policy towards the Catholics then led to an *impasse*, other statesmen declining the task of forming a Ministry and taking up the Bill. The Russell Administration therefore went back, to do their best for a miserable measure which nobody but a few fanatics really wanted. The Bill was modified, the second and third clauses being dropped ; but what was left got through the second reading with the very substantial majority of 338, whilst the third reading was passed, in July, by 263 votes to 46. In the Lords also the measure duly passed its stages, and the Royal Assent was given on August 1, the feast of S Peter's Chains. It can be regarded as a happy circumstance that old John Lingard did not live to store this particular piece of history in his mind. He died at Hornby on July 17, aged eighty-two, and was buried at Ushaw.

For twenty years—from 1851 until 1871—the Ecclesiastical Titles Act remained upon the Statute Book, a dead letter. The Catholic hierarchy could

not, and did not, divest themselves by any act or word of that fulness of authority which had been given to them by the Vicar of Christ. From the first the Act was inoperative: nobody invoked it. Among its most stalwart opponents in the Protestant camp had been Mr. Gladstone, who had the satisfaction, twenty years afterwards, of repealing the measure and thus writing *finis* to a discreditable and ridiculous chapter of English history. Those who are curious to follow the Parliamentary debates and to read the documents connected with this subject will find a sufficiency for their purpose in the series of reprints on *The Roman Catholic Question* brought out in 1851 by James Gilbert, of Paternoster Row.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND SPRING AND AFTER

EVENTS IN 1851–1870—THE FIRST PROVINCIAL SYNOD OF WESTMINSTER—THE "SECOND SPRING"—EPISCOPAL CHANGES—THE CASE OF ARCHBISHOP ERRINGTON—CARDINAL WISEMAN'S DEATH—MANNING AS SECOND ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER—CHANGES IN SCOTLAND—SOME CONVERTS OF THE PERIOD—EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS—THE FOREIGN MISSIONS—GROWTH IN RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS—THE A.P.U.C. AND ITS CONDEMNATION—PENS AND PRINTING PRESSES—A SOCIAL CRUSADE

RID of the preoccupations belonging to the excitements of 1850–1851, just recounted, Cardinal Wiseman and his fellow bishops settled down, in the latter year, to their appointed task of governing the Church in their respective newly-made dioceses. Henceforth, to the end of the century, the story of the further Catholic advance unfolds itself evenly as the years pass by, with no outstanding circumstance in the political world to affect, in any essential thing, the course of events, though with many important happenings to note by the way, most important of all, perhaps, being the Education Act of 1870 with its bearing upon the future of Catholic elementary schools. Fifty years is too long a period to attempt to cover in a single chapter, if we are to glance at the many noteworthy conversions, the new organizations and

institutional life, the consolidations of various kinds, which help to fill the story from 1851 until the close of the nineteenth century. While, therefore, there is no point of arbitrary importance by which to mark off a division, the years before the Forster Act can conveniently have a chapter to themselves, leaving that measure, with the remainder of the century, to be considered separately.

The establishment of the new diocesan chapters had for one of its effects that of putting an end to the "Old Chapter," a body of ecclesiastics which was without formal recognition by Rome and had for a long time exercised no jurisdiction. The members reconstituted themselves as "The Old Brotherhood," and as such the organization continues to exist, meeting periodically and doing good work in the administration of charitable funds.

The first Provincial Synod of Westminster took place at Oscott in July, 1852, and is notable chiefly for the preaching in the college chapel, on the 13th, of Newman's famous sermon "The Second Spring," celebrating the establishment of the new hierarchy. The sermon, it must be admitted, is in character as much a transport as an instruction, the pouring out of perfervid sentiment in a stream of eloquence; yet who will say that its emotion was overcharged in the circumstances of that time? To the preacher, and doubtless also to his hearers, what had taken place seemed in very truth to be "a restoration in the moral world such as that which yearly takes place in the physical." Casting his mind back to the

time of spiritual destruction in the land, Newman drew a picture of what the Church had become: "a few adherents of the Old Religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been." This picture he elaborated and contrasted with the courts and cloisters of Oscott, and with what Oscott had shown them in those, their own days. In fancy he saw Bishop Milner, rapt in spirit and reaching out to the future, delivering himself as follows :—

> I listen, and I hear the sound of voices, grave and musical, renewing the old chant with which Augustine greeted Ethelbert in the free air upon the Kentish strand. It comes from a long procession, and it winds along the cloisters. Priests and Religious, theologians from the schools, and canons from the Cathedral, walk in due precedence. And then there comes a vision of wellnigh twelve mitred heads; and last I see a Prince of the Church, in the royal dye of empire and of martyrdom, a pledge to us from Rome of Rome's unwearied love, a token that that goodly company is firm in apostolic faith and hope. . . . And so that high company moves on into the holy place; and there, with august rite and awful sacrifice, inaugurates the great act which brings it thither.

"What is that act?" the preacher asked; and he answered his own question: "it is the first synod of a new Hierarchy; it is the resurrection of the Church."

At Oscott there were held also the second and third synods of the Province, in 1855 and 1859 respectively. The fourth synod, however, in 1873, was at S Edmund's College.

A number of changes by death and other causes took place in these years, as might be expected, among the members of the hierarchy. In February, 1853, Bishop Hendren of Nottingham retired and was succeeded in September by the Right Rev. Richard Roskell. Another consecration in the latter month gave Bishop Alexander Goss to Liverpool as coadjutor. By the death of Bishop Brown he succeeded to that See in 1856. The death of Bishop Burgess of Clifton occurred in 1854; his successor was Bishop William Joseph Clifford, consecrated in February, 1857.

Rather more than a mere word of record must be given to the next change. In 1855 Bishop Errington resigned the See of Plymouth, in which he was succeeded by Bishop William Vaughan, and was translated as titular Archbishop of Trebizond. Instruments from Rome appointed him also as coadjutor to Cardinal Wiseman, with right of succession in Westminster; but Errington, as all know, did not succeed. Differences between himself and the Cardinal led to strained relations and a difficult situation. Eventually it became clear in Rome that things could not go on as they were. Errington was offered the See of Trinidad, but he declined it, and he also refused to resign the Westminster coadjutorship by his own act: he would, he said, accept deprivation only at the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff; and this painful course was eventually pursued. After Cardinal Wiseman's death, to be referred to later, the question of the

Westminster succession was again made a burning one, and Errington's name was sent to Rome by the Chapter, but the choice fell upon Henry Edward Manning. In 1868 the desire of the Holy Father was expressed that Errington should go to Scotland as Apostolic Administrator in order to become Archbishop of Edinburgh in a restored Scottish hierarchy; but this offer also the former coadjutor declined. Archbishop Errington's last years—he died in 1886—were spent quietly, away from arenas of difference and strife. He was for some years parish priest at Douglas, Isle of Man; and afterwards, on the reopening of Prior Park College by Bishop Clifford, he retired there and taught theology until his death. As this present book is an attempted record of facts but not an essay in judgements arising out of them, it seems due to the memories of all concerned to repeat here the wise words of counsel employed by Abbot Butler, O.S.B., in bringing the story to a close in the pages of his biography of Archbishop Ullathorne. "Anyone," he writes, "who would form a just judgement on the case between the three men, Errington, Wiseman, Manning, and, still more, on the men themselves, must needs read their own statements, reproduced in Wilfrid Ward's *Life of Wiseman*" (Butler, Vol. I, p. 271).

In February, 1858, Bishop Wareing of Northampton resigned, and the Holy See appointed as his successor Dr. Francis Kerril Amherst. The next resignation, that of Bishop Briggs of Beverley, came

in 1860. This prelate was then upwards of seventy years of age, and in poor health ; he had, in fact, less than two months to live when he laid down the burdens of his office. The new bishop was Dr. Robert Cornthwaite, a former rector of the English College in Rome.

Cardinal Wiseman died on February 15, 1865. It has been said of him that if he triumphed over his enemies in his lifetime, he was even more triumphant in death—this in allusion to the practically universal chorus of eulogy with which the Protestant press and public then showed their appreciation of his worth. The Cardinal's funeral procession to Kensal Green, witnessed by immense crowds along the route, was one of the most remarkable demonstrations of popular esteem ever seen in London. To many non-Catholics, the dead Prince of the Church was a public man who by his lecturing and other gifts had contributed to the erudition of his age. To the faithful, there was the sense of loss of a revered Father in God, one whose courage had met and conquered what seemed like a nation's prejudice not many years previously, and whose rule had been marked by many signs of increasing Catholic prosperity. Within four months Manning had succeeded to the Archbishopric. He was consecrated on June 8, 1865, and began a reign which, in a different way, was to make him an even more prominent figure than Nicholas Wiseman in public affairs, and to see the foundations laid of some of the chief directive movements in the modern history of the Church in England and Wales.

Bishop Hogarth of Hexham and Newcastle died in 1866, and was succeeded by the Right Rev. James Chadwick, a professor at Ushaw. And finally—since the present chapter extends only to 1870—the English Province suffered the loss, by death, of Bishop Grant of Southwark. In that year, made momentous for the entire Catholic world by the Vatican Council, the Bishop had set out for the Eternal City to attend that great gathering. He went against doctor's orders, from a sense of duty. His strength proved, however, unequal to the task, and he breathed out his saintly soul not long after his arrival in Rome.

In Scotland, also, there were many changes Bishop Andrew Carruthers, Vicar-Apostolic of the Eastern District, died in 1852 and was succeeded by his coadjutor, Bishop James Gillis, one of the most progressive administrators in the history of the District. He died in February, 1864, and in the following September was succeeded by John Strain, of whom more later. In June, 1861, the Bishop coadjutor of the Western District, Mgr. Alexander Smith, died, and in his place the Holy See appointed the Rev. John Gray, who became Vicar-Apostolic in December, 1865, upon the death of Bishop Murdoch. He himself was given a coadjutor in the following year in Bishop James Lynch; but that prelate did not succeed, being translated instead, in 1869, in which year Bishop Gray resigned the Vicariate, to the coadjutorship of the Irish diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. The

new Western Vicar-Apostolic, who came also with authority as Delegate-Apostolic for Scotland, was the Right Rev. Charles Eyre. In the Northern District Bishop Kyle, who died in February, 1869, had looked forward to a coadjutor in John Macdonald, nominated to that post in the November preceding; the consecration, however, did not take place until the day following Bishop Kyle's death, so that it was to the full charge as Vicar-Apostolic that Bishop Macdonald was actually called. Eyre, Macdonald, Strain: these are names to bear in mind at this point; for before long we shall find them at the head of Scotland's restored hierarchy.

The *minutiæ* just set down, for both countries, together with the similar close record of episcopal changes at earlier and later periods, may perhaps be tiresome reading for those who would prefer the story to flow more rapidly, with not so many little swirls of detail by the way. But the names and dates of the Vicars-Apostolic and the Ordinaries are important. These men embody the story of Catholic progress on the personal side, in the sense that each represents, by ecclesiastical headship, the development of the Church in a portion of the Vineyard at a particular time.

At the head of a great many converts received into the Church in the period now under notice, stands one who ranks among the foremost both in time and importance. The year 1851 was still young—it was on Passion Sunday—when the Anglican Archdeacon

of Chichester, Henry Edward Manning, made his submission into the hands of Father Brownbill, S.J. With him came his friend J. R. Hope, afterwards Hope-Scott. The date was April 6; and less than three months afterwards, on June 15, Manning had been ordained—a swiftness of advance which surprised many at the time. Among other converts of that year to note was the Rev. and Hon. William T. Law, who had been active as an Anglican controversialist against the Catholic claims; he was father to a more widely-remembered convert, Augustus Henry Law, the Jesuit missionary and linguist whose death in a wretched hut is a poignant chapter in missionary annals. S Saviour's, Leeds, experienced a religious turnover on a large scale: its vicar, former vicar, three curates, and about thirty souls of the lay congregation, were all received. One of the former S Saviour's clergy, John Hungerford Pollen, himself a gifted man, was the father of distinguished sons in the ranks of the Church's helpers. Two well-known poets, Aubrey de Vere and Adelaide Procter, became Catholics in 1851, and with them may be mentioned two later poets, Coventry Patmore and Gerald Manley Hopkins, S.J., whose conversion falls within the period. In other departments of letters the names occur of many from whom only a selection can here be made. Catholic journalism gained a valuable recruit in the Rev. Henry James Coleridge, who had been one of the founders of the *Guardian*. He joined the Society of Jesus, and became in 1865 the first Jesuit editor of the *Month*,

which magazine had been started in the previous year by the efforts of Miss Taylor, foundress of the Poor Servants of the Mother of God. Fanny Taylor's own conversion occurred in 1855, while she was serving under Florence Nightingale as a nurse in the Crimea. Father Coleridge also founded and carried on the well-known *Quarterly Series* by which many volumes of Catholic scholarship have enriched our literature in Great Britain. The Rev. Joseph Stevenson, archivist and editor of the Rolls Series; the Rev. Henry Bedford, an advanced Puseyite who afterwards wrote a good deal as a Catholic; Thomas Harper and Sylvester Hunter, known respectively for literary and educational work in the Society of Jesus; Francis Cowley Burnand, a future editor of *Punch;* Edmund Bishop, the liturgiologist; and James Britten, founder of the second Catholic Truth Society—all these were converts who brought strength in literature to the Church or to secular life.

In philanthropy one thinks of still other converts: Francis Wegg-Prosser, by whose generosity the Benedictine Order became possessed of Belmont; the Rev. Henry A. Rawes, who became an Oblate of S Charles and gave to that congregation the church of S Francis of Assisi at Notting Hill; Alfred Pryor, at whose death in 1881 a reversion of £60,000 was bequeathed for Catholic educational purposes; Lady Herbert of Lea, a much-loved social and religious worker of her time; Mr. Biddulph Phillips, whose zeal built and endowed for

the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity and Refuge their convent at Bartestree, in Herefordshire; Miss Mabel Digby, afterwards a noted religious administratrix as Superior-General of the Society of the Sacred Heart.

Two converts received in 1868 must close this very incomplete selection, both of them men of considerable influence: the Hon. Colin Lindsay, who had been perhaps the most active figure in the English Church Union; and John Crichton Stuart, third Marquis of Bute, whose submission at the hands of Mgr. Capel, Disraeli was later to cast into the mould from which he made *Lothair*.

Catholic educational developments during the 1851–1870 period show many new and substantial links in the chain of advance. Among our public schools, one of the foremost dates from 1854, when the Hon. and Rev. Joseph Constable-Maxwell presented Beaumont Lodge, now Beaumont College, at Old Windsor, to the Society of Jesus, of which he was himself a member. Beaumont Lodge is now only the smaller part of the spreading buildings of the college; whilst since 1888 the preparatory school dedicated to S John Berchmans has had its own handsome erection, designed by Bentley, on the neighbouring Priest Hill. Newman's foundation at Edgbaston, the Oratory School, since transferred to the more spacious and open mansion at Caversham Park, belongs to the year 1859. At Ramsgate the Benedictine Fathers who had arrived in England

from Subiaco, in 1856, opened eleven years later S Augustine's School, a building erected by Alfred Luck, afterwards an Oblate of the Order and a priest.

These were new foundations, as was also another important Catholic college, far-reaching in its effects in the most literal sense, established to combine scholastic instruction with training for the foreign missionary field, and with its *alumni* directed, in inclination and intention, to that end. Until 1866, when Herbert Vaughan, the future Cardinal, began the work of S Joseph's Foreign Missionary Society in a private house at Mill Hill, Catholics in Great Britain had done practically nothing, in an organized way, to help in spreading the knowledge of Christianity in heathen lands. This thought it was that fired a burning missionary zeal in the handsome young priest, who was able to follow up his small beginning by erecting the existing fine building, S Joseph's College, on the northern heights, and opening it in March, 1871. There he died, and there his body lies.

If we turn from foundations themselves to progress represented by extensions, offshoots, and the arrival of fresh educational forces, much might be written. Among works compassed by the years now under review were the extensive enlargement of Ampleforth College and the building of Hansom's chapel in that college and Pugin's chapel at S Edmund's. In 1852 the Marist Brothers established their English Province; and three years later the coming to London of the Brothers of the Christian

Schools and the Brothers of Mercy introduced further elements of strength.

Two educational undertakings in which charity also played a part should here have a word of mention : the industrial school for homeless children opened by Cardinal Wiseman in 1857 ; and Monsignor de Haerne's school at Sheffield for Catholic deaf mutes, with its subsequent development into the important work of S John's Institution at Boston Spa. The establishment of the Westminster Diocesan Education Fund by Archbishop Manning, in 1866, not only helped to meet immediate needs in that diocese, but also was the forerunner of still larger financial efforts to be made in the cause of Catholic education when the time came for the passing of the Forster Act.

Attempts at education in ecclesiastical art were made by Joseph Hansom at Edinburgh and by John Hardman at Birmingham, but in these cases there were no permanent results, apart from the long and meritorious association of the name of Hardman with Catholic ecclesiastical art work. It is humiliating to have to record that whereas a great deal of Catholic ability and energy in Great Britain has gone to the making of religious literature, very little has been done, apart from some good architectural work and some sculpture, to promote religious art. An attempt in this direction on the pictorial side, belonging to a later period than that which we are now considering, was the founding of the Catholic Art Society by two laymen since deceased : James Britten and B. F. C.

Costelloe ; but that organization languished and died.

These twenty years brought added fruitfulness by the introduction of many more religious Orders and Congregations from abroad. Some of them were returned exiles, notably the historic community of Bridgettine nuns of Syon, who after their long and adventurous sojourn on the Continent came back to England in 1861 and made a home at Spetisbury. This famous convent was afterwards at Chudleigh, where the Redemptoristines have now their home, until its removal to the present Syon Abbey at South Brent. When the Syon nuns touched our shores again, a real piece of religious restoration was accomplished ; for this particular community, by its continuous corporate life, joins the present with the days of Catholic England.

So the religious houses multiplied in the kingdom. Long before 1870 the Orders and Congregations scattered about England, Wales, and Scotland at the time of the restored hierarchy had been considerably augmented, in number, apart from the establishment of many offshoot houses from the membership of their own ranks. Discalced Carmelites, under Father Hermann, came to England in 1862 and opened the small chapel in Kensington Square which did duty until the present Carmelite Church, from Pugin's design, was inaugurated four years afterwards. Earlier still, West London saw the foundation, by Manning, of the Oblates of S

Charles. Irish Vincentians, and Sisters of Charity of S Vincent de Paul, are found in England at Sheffield, and later in Scotland, at Lanark. Sisters of the Temple are re-established in England by Cardinal Wiseman in the Westminster diocese; subsequently they migrate to Clifton. Other Orders and Congregations arriving from overseas include Servites (the Fathers at Fulham), Sacramentines, Sisters of Our Lady of Charity and Refuge, Daughters of the Cross (these, by the way, should not be confused with the Religious of the Cross now working in the Portsmouth diocese), Sisters of S Joseph, and probably others not here recorded. In 1870 itself the Sisters of the Sacred Heart came to England, and began, at Stratford, E., labours which have since greatly expanded in the country.

As may be supposed, the growth of British convents was not relished by the more militant Protestants of the time. A body calling themselves the "Anti-Convent" Committee started an agitation in 1854 to get Parliament to move against the religious houses. Their champion in the Commons was a Mr. Chambers, who wanted a committee on conventual and monastic institutions. The motion was little to the liking of the House, and the attempt fizzled out in ignominious failure.

Towards the close of the 'fifties the Catholic authorities viewed with concern a movement engineered by some Catholics, in conjunction with a number of Anglicans, to help along Church Unity.

The A.P.U.C. (Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom) was a well-intentioned body, but like later attempts in the same direction it lacked the right fundamentals. Catholic participation could, and did, produce false ideas and misunderstandings. Representations were made to the Holy See, and in 1864 the A.P.U.C. was condemned. Some persons said then, as others in our own time have said more recently since the Encyclical *Mortalium animos*, that Rome pours cold water on sincere efforts in this matter. So she does, when necessary ; but it is water from the well of truth.

What, meanwhile, of the energies of the written word ? In this, one's mind is carried back, in the first place, to the diocese of Clifton. In 1851 or thereabouts some active brothers of the Society of S Vincent de Paul, and other helpers, with Spencer Northcote and E. Healy Thompson to be leading spirits in the work, began the production of the Clifton Tracts, well-written and for a long time widely-circulated leaflets which did an immense amount of good. In this enterprise Bristol proved itself by many years the pioneer of a number of later efforts : the work of Father Bampfield and his press at Barnet ; the S Anselm's Society ; and—greatest and most enduring of all—the Catholic Truth Society.

If any single Catholic book of the 'fifties can be pointed to more than another as having achieved an outstanding success among general readers, it is probably Cardinal Wiseman's *Fabiola*, published in

1854. Although not designed as a work of apologetics, this story of the Early Church was in effect a fount of instruction to non-Catholics, and so it remains.

Press developments added two Catholic weeklies of a popular character to our newspaper resources. In 1860 the *Universe* printed its first number ; and judging from the present prosperity and wide circulation of that paper, the generation is still remote which is to chronicle the final one. Another paper, the *Northern Press*, established in Liverpool, came under the control of Mgr. Nugent, whom all will recall as one of the most renowned social workers in the city's annals. The title of this periodical was subsequently altered to the *Catholic Times*. There was also a weekly called *Catholic Opinion*, which made its bow in 1867 as " a Review of the Catholic Press at Home and Abroad." After an independent life of about nine years, that venture was merged into the *Catholic Times*, a paper still with us in journalistic good work for the Church.

The *Tablet* had a change of ownership in 1868, its new proprietor being Herbert Vaughan ; whilst the *Weekly Register*, lineal successor to the old *Catholic Standard*, and at that time directed by Henry Wilberforce, made Catholic weekly journalism a four-square defence.

Of various Catholic social works set on foot during or shortly after this period, one in particular is to be noted, on account of its importance in the conditions of the time. This was the League of the Cross,

an apostolate of total abstinence with Father Nugent for its sponsor and head in the North of England, and Archbishop Manning, not yet a Cardinal, in the South. Happily we of this generation can look back from a more sober age to the 'sixties of the nineteenth century, when excess in drink brought many miseries in its train among those who in money could least afford the indulgence. Nugent and Manning began their crusade against intemperance in a conjunction of efforts and determination, and in each case the personality of the man was the greatest factor towards success. In London the League of the Cross became an organization of considerable size, requiring the Crystal Palace for its chief annual gathering. After Cardinal Manning's death it gradually dwindled, partly from the loss of the guiding figure and personality, but also, it is more consoling to think, in face of a lessening need. To this day the green-and-gold cap and sash of the "League guards"—now only a faithful remnant—is familiar in the streets on the occasion of a Catholic procession or other outdoor function.

CHAPTER VII

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

THE FORSTER ACT OF 1870—LOOKING BACKWARD : SMALL MERCIES FROM THE STATE—THE SCHOOL BOARDS—HOW CATHOLICS MET CLAUSE 96—THE ACTS OF 1902–1903—FINANCIAL INJUSTICE TO CATHOLIC SCHOOLS—" ROME ON THE RATES " —A GREAT CAMPAIGN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES—THE DUAL SYSTEM SAVED

ON February 17, 1870, Mr. W. E. Forster moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill on the subject of elementary education. This measure, which received the Royal Assent on August 9 of the same year, is known as the Elementary Education Act, 1870 (33 & 34 Vict. c. 75) ; but in popular parlance it is the Forster Act, a title which will keep it apart and unconfused with other measures in anything now to be written about it. Elementary education plays such an important part in the economy of the Church in Great Britain that it will help us the better to realize the situation by which the Catholic authorities were faced by the proposals of 1870 if we glance briefly at what had previously been done in this matter from the time of Catholic Emancipation onwards.

" At what had previously been done." For a long time subsequent to 1829 the glance reveals nothing,

so far as Catholics are concerned, in the way of State aid. It was not until 1833 that Government grants were made for purposes of primary schooling ; and when the money did come, it benefited, in practice, only the Protestant schools in which Bible-reading was part of the regular instruction. In 1848, however, Catholic schools got a share of the State grant : that was the small beginning of things ; and within the next ten years some further help made conditions slightly less onerous. That they were onerous enough is a matter of history. Less the small sum received by grant, Catholics had to do everything, financially, in the way of providing and supporting their schools, paying the teachers, keeping the whole machinery going. That was a time of sacrifice indeed, and this is the time to acknowledge it. Tribute belongs both to the parents who stinted themselves to give their children Catholic schools, and to the teachers who in many cases toiled for a mere pittance. It would be unfair not to chronicle also the educational work carried on in these difficult years by voluntary efforts in the Church of England and elsewhere.

The measure of the Catholic effort can be judged from a Board of Education return quoted lately in the admirable *Statement on the Present Position of Catholic Schools in England and Wales* prepared by the Catholic Education Council. There it is shown that in 1870–1871 there were 383 Catholic elementary schools in the land, with accommodation for 113,490 children. The more exacting standard of to-day

would perhaps shy at the material humbleness of some of the school buildings; but they did good educational work, and in the high things of moral results these old schools produced vigorous Catholic generations. At the present time our Catholic elementary schools number nearly 1300 in England and Wales.

The Forster Act represented the first attempt by the State to make itself responsible in the matter of primary education by seeing to it that every child in the kingdom went to school and that there were enough schools provided to meet the enactment. Attendance was made compulsory by subsequent legislation, in 1876 and 1880. It was never contemplated by the Government in 1870 that the State should wish to usurp what was already being done by voluntary bodies. At the very beginning of his speech the Minister referred to these agencies, saying: "I know the sacrifices they have made, and not for a moment do I believe it possible that anyone who considers this question will disregard what they have already done or will wish to do without their aid in the future." And later in the speech Mr. Forster declared: "Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps . . ." There was to be no scrapping of a denominational system which for thirty-five years had borne the heat and burden of primary education in the land.

By the Forster Act birth was given to the school boards, which henceforth for many years were the

local education authorities. These boards were popularly elected and empowered to spend from the rates. They were to build new schools to the extent needed, and they might take over and maintain existing ones. Religious difficulties were faced, rather than met, by expedients from time to time such as conscience clauses by which a child need not attend religious instruction ; the " Cowper-Temple " clause which served out a doctrinal dilution intended to please all parties ; and an explicit ban on religious formularies " distinctive of any particular denomination." It goes without saying that Catholics could not come into a national system on these lines.

On the matter of the continuation of Government aid to the voluntary schools, Clause 96 of the 1870 Act was vital : " After the thirty-first day of March one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one no parliamentary grant shall be made to any elementary school which is not a public elementary school within the meaning of this Act." Less than a year remained, therefore, in which our Catholic schools could be seen to and the largest possible result secured for presentation to the Board to be recognized under the Act. A still shorter time, to December 31, 1870, was granted for memorializing the Department in the matter of grants towards new buildings or enlargements.

The hour found the man. Edward Lord Howard of Glossop, chairman of the Catholic Poor School Committee and a magnificent fighter for Catholic

education, founded the "Catholic Education Crisis Fund." Generous subscriptions flowed in, and at a cost of £350,000 the Catholic school accommodation was almost doubled in the course of a few years. In the return already referred to it was seen that in 1870–1871 there were 113,490 school places; by 1875–1876 the number was 200,753; and if we take the comparison to 1880–1881, we find far more than a doubling, for by then there was accommodation for 261,354 children.

The Forster Act, with some subsequent enactments under which the voluntary schools' burden was lessened, governed matters for upwards of thirty years. Catholic schools still struggled on under great financial disability as compared with the board schools, until the Education Acts of 1902–1903 swept the school boards out of existence by transferring educational control to the local councils, and for the first time recognized the rights of voluntary schools to receive assistance from the rates. In a very real sense the distinction, under what is known as the Balfour Act of 1902, between the voluntary or "non-provided" and the council or "provided" schools, remained the distinction between bond and free; but the bondage was so greatly loosened that when Catholics accepted the compromise offered them in 1902—for it was a compromise and nothing more—it must have seemed to many that educationally the earthly paradise was almost in sight. The Act required the local education authority to maintain from the public

funds any voluntary elementary school in its area which had been approved as necessary by the Board of Education. Maintenance, including teachers' salaries, was henceforth a charge upon the public purse whether the school be a voluntary or a provided one.

Where, then, the bond and the free ? In the very important respect, financially, that in the case of voluntary schools the trustees had to provide both sites and buildings and to pay for structural repairs ; whereas, in the case of the provided schools, John Bull—who is partly Papist in heart and pocket—was called upon for all the money. In 1902 Catholics accepted the real boon given them under the Education Act of that year, and with it the inequitable but not, it was thought, unbearable obligation of buying their own sites and building and repairing their own schools. They could not foresee, nor could the Act foresee, the upheaval of the Great War with its consequence in soaring prices. When the time came to meet that new situation, the national pocket, to which Catholics had of course contributed their share equally with non-Catholics, was searched more deeply to build and repair the provided schools ; but not a penny of relief came to the trustees of the voluntary schools in respect of this enhanced difficulty ; rather were matters made worse by a " black-listing " of many schools, with a more or less peremptory demand for rebuilding. That is the present position, the justification for the campaign now being waged by Catholics in England and Wales

to secure financial fair play. In Scotland, where the principle of the maintenance of voluntary schools had been accepted since 1872, the situation is different, by the transfer of Catholic school buildings, under certain safeguarding arrangements, to the education authorities.

In the above we have anticipated in some things the chronological sequence of events. Catholics were not left to enjoy in peace the better state of things secured to them by the Balfour Act. "Rome on the Rates," with its alliterative cadence, made an effective slogan of protest from the lips and pens of Nonconformists in particular, to whom it mattered nothing that the Catholic parent was a ratepayer equally with his Protestant neighbour. A Liberal Administration hearkened to the cry, and under Mr. Birrell's *régime* as Minister for Education attempts were made to recast the whole elementary system on lines which would practically have put an end to voluntary schools altogether. The Catholic body in the country, by swift resolution and a series of mighty demonstrations of solidarity, defeated the enemy. Who, of those who saw them, can forget the chief gatherings in that campaign: the scenes in and around the Albert Hall in London; the wonderful assembly at Belle Vue Gardens, Manchester; the indoor and outdoor thousands at Leeds, Liverpool, Newcastle, and other great centres? These meetings were an object-lesson in Catholic strength, among other things in Catholic voting strength. The voluntary schools were saved, and

the dual system still rules. In the recollection of those events, the hostile complexion of the Government proposals may well be detached from the kindly personality of Mr. Birrell himself, the friend of very many Catholics in the country.

CHAPTER VIII

TO THE CLOSE OF THE VICTORIAN PERIOD

TWO EVENTS OF 1870 : THE VATICAN COUNCIL AND THE FALL OF ROME—GLADSTONE'S ATTACK ON "VATICANISM"—THE CATHOLIC UNION—RESTORATION OF THE SCOTTISH HIERARCHY—SUBSEQUENT CHANGES AMONG THE EPISCOPATE OF BOTH COUNTRIES—BISHOP ULLATHORNE—DEATH OF CARDINAL MANNING—BISHOP HERBERT VAUGHAN'S TRANSLATION TO WESTMINSTER—A JUBILEE NOTE : QUEEN VICTORIA AND POPE LEO XIII—TWO NEW CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS—SOME CONVERTS OF THE PERIOD—EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS—THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION SETTLED—GROWTH OF MONASTICISM—MORE WOMEN WORKERS FROM OVERSEAS—CATHOLIC JOURNALISM—LEGAL RELIEF—THE ENGLISH MARTYRS

IN a work intended to confine its outlook to Great Britain, it may seem intrusive to dwell upon occurrences affecting the Church at large ; yet two events in Rome in 1870 must now be chronicled before we pass on to a further consideration of our national and domestic affairs, more especially as one of them in particular had certain repercussions in England itself. The promulgation of Papal Infallibility, in the historic thunderstorm of July 18, like the definition of the Immaculate Conception earlier in the century, was an opportunity to the Church's enemies to proclaim their impatience of the idea of adding " new doctrines " to the Christian faith, and to Catholics an occasion for defending and

explaining the dogma. The entire hierarchy, save two, had taken part in the Vatican Council. Bishop Brown, of Newport and Menevia, was the only English bishop given leave of absence from the deliberations; and Bishop Goss, of Liverpool, started but was seized with illness on the way and never got to Rome. Bishop Grant, of Southwark, as has already been mentioned, died in the Eternal City, but not until after he had been able to participate, in however slight a degree, in some of the proceedings of the Council.

After the definition, many bishops, on returning to their dioceses, wrote instructions for their flocks in which the newly-defined dogma was expounded. In England one of the most notable of such utterances was the pastoral issued in October, 1870, by Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham. A considerable portion of this letter is quoted by Abbot Butler in his biography of the Bishop (Vol. II, pp. 68 *seq.*). But neither Ullathorne nor any other prelate in the land could hold back the storm of criticism which burst out in newspaper articles, sermons, and pamphlets from non-Catholic controversialists who in many cases put their own exaggerated interpretations upon the Council's decrees, especially that concerning Infallibility. A few years later there was a renewed attack, this time from Mr. Gladstone, whose pamphlet on *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance* showed its author in his most assertive Protestant rôle during a long life. Ullathorne was again among the writers foremost in

defence of the Council, and of the Syllabus of Pius IX in 1864, against which also many of Gladstone's shafts had been drawn. Replies on the Catholic side came likewise from Manning, and from Newman in the latter's famous *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk.*

The second of the Roman events in 1870 to be here recorded was, of course, the fall of the Temporal Power. When the enemy troops breached the wall at the Porta Pia and entered the Eternal City, on September 20, a new chapter began in the history of the Papacy. Catholics from Great Britain were among those who had flocked to the Pope's standard in the campaign, and it may be that there are still one or two survivors of those militant faithful. One man, at any rate, who was not a soldier but a young student in Rome on that September day, is still with us: Mgr. Canon William Barry. The loss of the States of the Church quickly became the concern of many influential Catholics in the country, who founded, in 1871, the Catholic Union of Great Britain, an organization still preserving its special note of devotion to the Holy Father's cause, but with a history also of much useful work for Catholic interests at home, particularly in legal matters.

Resuming the survey of Catholic progress in Great Britain, in the thirty years between 1870 and the end of the century, we find one of the most important events taking place in Scotland. On March 4, 1878, Pope Leo XIII, who had been elected to the Chair of Peter following the death of Pius IX in February,

issued the Apostolic Letters *Ex supremo Apostolatus apice*, restoring the Scottish hierarchy. The country was constituted as (I) the Province of S Andrews and Edinburgh, comprising the Archiepiscopal See of S Andrews and Edinburgh with the four Suffragan Sees of Aberdeen, Argyll and the Isles, Dunkeld and Galloway; and (II) the Archiepiscopal See of Glasgow, without Suffragan Sees. This arrangement has not since been in any respect disturbed.

The Scottish restoration was more closely and literally such than the event of 1850 in England and Wales; for in the Northern Kingdom there was no question of steering clear of episcopal titles in Protestant use. The old Catholic Sees, vacant since the sixteenth or, in the case of Glasgow, the seventeenth century, were re-filled under their ancient titles, except for the modification that the dioceses of Argyll and of the Isles were merged as one See. Thus Bishop John Strain, when translated from the Eastern District as Archbishop of S Andrews and Edinburgh, was in immediate succession by both title and right to the ill-fated Archbishop Hamilton, hanged at Stirling in 1571. The Northern Vicar-Apostolic, Bishop John Macdonald, became Bishop of Aberdeen; and Bishop Charles Eyre, Administrator of the Western District, was translated, as Archbishop, to Glasgow. The Sees of Argyll and the Isles, Dunkeld and Galloway, were filled respectively by newly-consecrated men: Angus Macdonald, George Rigg, and John McLachlan.

Subsequent changes in the Scottish hierarchy by

death or retirement, before the century closed, were these : Archbishop Strain died in July, 1883, and was succeeded in October, 1885, by Archbishop William Smith. In August of the following year, it may be noted, Scotland held at Fort Augustus a Provincial Council of the restored hierarchy—the first such assembly to take place in the country since the Provincial Council of March, 1559. Bishop Rigg died in 1887, and Bishop John Macdonald in 1889. The latter vacancy was the first to be filled, by a prelate who ruled the See of Aberdeen for little more than a month : the Right Rev. Colin Grant was consecrated on August 13, 1889, and died on September 26. He was succeeded in turn by a Redemptorist, Hugh Macdonald, whose death took place in 1898 ; and Æneas Chisholm, the former rector, and rebuilder of Blairs College. In October, 1890, Dr. James A. Smith was consecrated as Bishop of Dunkeld. The next change came in 1892, by the death of Archbishop William Smith of S Andrews and Edinburgh, in whose place Bishop Angus Macdonald was translated to the Metropolitan See, being succeeded in the diocese of Argyll and the Isles by yet another bearer of the name of Smith—George John Smith. The year 1893 brought the death of Bishop McLachlan, whose successor in Galloway was Bishop William Turner. June 11, 1894, gave the Scottish episcopate one of its biggest figures by the consecration of the Right Rev. John A. Maguire as Bishop auxiliary for Glasgow ; and finally—to complete the period now under survey—the See of S Andrews

and Edinburgh became again vacant, in April, 1900, by the death of Archbishop Macdonald, whose successor, Dr. James A. Smith, translated from Dunkeld, was destined to rule in the Scots capital for a great many years to come.

In England and Wales, also, death and other causes naturally brought many changes among the bishops between 1870 and 1900, and these have now to be summarized. In the first place we turn to the diocese of Southwark, which found a successor to Bishop Grant in Bishop James Danell, consecrated on March 25, 1871 ; he died in 1881, and was succeeded by Bishop Coffin, C.SS.R. No fewer than four Bishops of Southwark come into this thirty years' survey. Mgr. Coffin, dying in April, 1885, was followed by his auxiliary of a few months' standing, Bishop John Butt. From May 1, 1896, until his resignation of the See on April 9 of the following year, Bishop Butt had the help of a coadjutor, Francis Bourne, into whose hands—the hands of a future Prince of the Church—the reins duly passed at the latter date.

Both Salford and Liverpool lost their Ordinaries, by death, in 1872. In the former diocese, Bishop Turner died on July 13, whilst the death of Bishop Goss took place on October 3. Salford had a successor in Bishop Herbert Vaughan, on whose translation to Westminster in 1892, the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Mgr. John Bilsborrow. Bishop Bernard O'Reilly succeeded Bishop Goss at Liverpool ; and on his death in April, 1894, the

much-loved Thomas Whiteside was consecrated to that See, to be the last "Bishop of Liverpool" in the sense that that title was to give place, during his lifetime, to the higher status of Archbishop and Metropolitan.

The Bishop of Nottingham, Mgr. Roskell, resigned in 1874; his successor, Mgr. Edward Bagshawe, saw the century to its close before he, too, laid down the episcopal burden by retirement and became a titular *in partibus*. The division of the Beverley diocese, in 1878, has been recorded in an earlier chapter. In that matter, therefore, it need only be said here that one of its results, the consecration of Richard Lacy as Bishop of Middlesbrough on December 18, 1879, forged a personal link as yet unbroken. His lordship is the *doyen* of the English episcopate, within sight of his golden jubilee in that high office. In the same year Bishop Amherst resigned at Northampton, to be succeeded, in June, 1880, by Mgr. Arthur Riddell. In 1880 there took place also the death of Dom Joseph Brown, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport and Menevia. Seven years previously he had been given, as auxiliary, that distinguished scholar of his own Order, Dom Cuthbert Hedley, O.S.B., who was translated as diocesan in February, 1881. This latter year brought the death of another Bishop Brown, his lordship of Shrewsbury, whose auxiliary since 1879, the Right Rev. Edmund Knight, became his successor. Bishop Knight resigned in 1895, being replaced by his coadjutor, Bishop John Carroll, consecrated in 1893; and on Bishop

Carroll's death, in January, 1897, the Holy See appointed Mgr. Samuel Allen to succeed him.

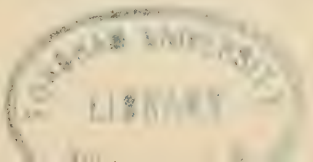
The diocese of Hexham and Newcastle lost by death its second Bishop, Mgr. Chadwick, in May, 1882. His successor, Mgr. John William Bewick, reigned only four years, when he, too, was taken; in his place Mgr. Henry O'Callaghan was consecrated in January, 1888, but in the following year Bishop O'Callaghan resigned, having meanwhile had as auxiliary that remarkable and outspoken prelate Dr. Thomas Wilkinson, a convert, who was translated as his successor in December, 1889, to begin nearly twenty years of memorable rule.

The retirement of Bishop Ullathorne, in 1888, ended the active episcopate of one of the outstanding figures in the history of the Catholic Church in England in what has come to be called the Victorian era. His work in Australia, where among other things he planned the lines of the Australian hierarchy, does not fall within the compass of this book, but those chapters in the story of a varied and busy life must be borne in mind by all who would estimate what that life achieved. Considered simply as a Vicar-Apostolic and as first Bishop of Birmingham, Ullathorne put in upwards of forty years of episcopal administration in England, during which he not only threw himself ardently into the making of Catholic progress in his own territories, but also was a voice and an influence in the general affairs of the Church throughout the land, particularly in the matter of negotiating the restored hierarchy. The reign of his

auxiliary and successor, Edward Ilsley, whose consecration took place on December 4, 1879, was destined to carry the history of the diocese, by more than a score of years, into the records of the following century. Ullathorne died, as titular Archbishop of Cabasa, little more than twelve months after his retirement.

The next episcopal death, that of Bishop Cornthwaite of Leeds, occurred in June, 1890. For the last few months of his life Mgr. Cornthwaite had had a coadjutor in William Gordon, who duly succeeded. In the following year Bishop Vaughan of Plymouth, while retaining the See, sought rest, in his seventy-eighth year, in the tranquil atmosphere of S Augustine's Priory at Newton Abbot, the diocesan activities falling to the Right Rev. Charles Graham, consecrated as coadjutor on October 28. The succession did not come to him for another eleven years ; for Bishop Vaughan, still Ordinary of Plymouth, was within a few months of completing his eighty-ninth year at the time of his death.

Henry Edward, Cardinal Manning, died on January 14, 1892, a day which brought sorrow also to the nation at large by the death of the heir to the Throne, Prince Albert Victor. Manning's rule as Archbishop of Westminster had lasted a comparatively long time, not far short of twenty-seven years ; and he had been a Cardinal since 1875. He received the Hat in 1877, two years before the dignity of the Cardinalate was conferred also upon John Henry Newman, his old antagonist in many things.



Manning's qualities, and the circumstances which brought him power, have been canvassed and debated among his biographers, and by the biographers of his contemporaries, in such wise that it is better we should bid the reader go directly to those works for their varying pictures of the man, than that this slender narrative of events should be interrupted by quotations. But there are no dissentients to the view that as a social force in the country, as a directive influence in movements for ameliorating the lot of the working classes, as a champion and provider of Catholic elementary education, as a warring and narrowly intolerant force against strong drink, and in the strength of an almost magnetic personality where the poor were concerned, Cardinal Manning filled a very considerable place not only in the Church but in the public life of his time. His part in bringing about the settlement of the London dock strike in 1889 made him a national hero. It has already been recorded that Cardinal Wiseman's death, in 1865, was followed by a great demonstration of popular sympathy ; no less demonstrative, by the magnitude of their attendance, were the populace in those January days in 1892 when Manning's body lay in state in the sombre Archbishop's House in Carlisle Place which had been his home for twenty years.

As third Archbishop of Westminster, Herbert Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, was translated to the Metropolitan See on April 8, 1892, and in the following January was created a Cardinal. His short reign

of eleven years was lessened by illness, yet the "Vaughan period" at Westminster saw much of importance in spiritual and in material growth. In his own diocese the Cardinal sought the diffusion of Catholic knowledge by public lectures. The Historical Research Society opened the doors of Archbishop's House once a month to all and sundry; and in a wider field he commissioned his brother, the late Bishop John Vaughan, to organize courses of Catholic Evidence lectures in town halls and other public meeting-places in various parts of the Metropolis. It is probably no exaggeration to say that many thousands of non-Catholics must have had their first knowledge of the principles of the faith from the machinery instituted by Cardinal Vaughan. His material monument is the great Cathedral at Westminster which he lived to see built but not opened: the opening ceremony, a sad and informal one in June, 1903, was to receive his body.

Two further deaths among the diocesans remain to be chronicled: Bishop Clifford, of Clifton, died in August, 1893, and Bishop Vertue, of Portsmouth, in May, 1900. Their respective successors were William Robert Brownlow, the distinguished archæologist of ancient Rome; and John Baptist Cahill. Another episcopal consecration before the century closed, that of Mgr. Robert Brindle, in 1899, as auxiliary for Westminster, brings into the list one who before long was to become Ordinary at Nottingham—but that event belongs to a later division of this survey.

We have glanced at the men who ruled, episcopally, in the years 1870–1900. It remains to note some of the events, during this period, which proved to have permanent value as marking steps in the march of Catholic progress ; and it will not be amiss to begin with one of an indirect character, in which international relations and high politics had a part. Queen Victoria's golden jubilee, in 1887, synchronized, as to its year, with the sacerdotal golden jubilee of Pope Leo XIII. On the occasion of her Majesty's royal progress of thanksgiving through the streets of the capital, the diplomatic and other representatives in the procession included a Papal envoy, Mgr. Ruffo-Scilla, who brought the good wishes of the Sovereign Pontiff. On her part the Queen, in November following, anticipated the Pope's jubilee by a few weeks and despatched the Duke of Norfolk to Rome as a special envoy charged to present to Leo XIII a gift and congratulations from herself. These two incidents—" Papal Aggression," be it remembered, was less than forty years away—were not without significance, and can be remembered with gladness in the knowledge of the more defined relations subsisting to-day between Great Britain and the Holy See.

It becomes less easy, as the narrative advances, to refer to the part played by converts in the Catholic growth, because some of these men and women are still living, whereas in regard to personal praises a work of this kind had better be strictly *post-mortem*. Death, however, has swept difficulty

from the path in mentioning two important forces in the Catholic apostolate, both of them belonging to the years under notice, and each due chiefly to the zeal of converts to the faith. In conjunction with a priest, the Rev. (afterwards Mgr.) W. H. Cologan, James Britten revived, by what was practically a new foundation, the Catholic Truth Society, a work in which many of his fellow-converts joined the "born" faithful in helping him; prominent among the former was Sir James Marshall, C.M.G., a well-known Colonial worker, formerly in Anglican Orders, who became a Catholic in 1857. What the grain of mustard seed planted at Herbert House on November 5, 1884, has since become, alike in magnitude in Great Britain and by extension or emulation in other countries, is common knowledge among Catholics and need not be here related. Then, in 1887, came the establishment of the Guild of Our Lady of Ransom by two other converts who have since gone to their reward: the Rev. Philip Fletcher, and Lister Drummond. C.T.S. and the Ransom Guild represented, in a way, the pioneer efforts in what is now well described as the "Catholic Forward Movement." The former by literature, and the latter by outdoor lectures, processions, pilgrimages, and other demonstrations, began a work of widespread instruction. The Catholic Truth Society found a companion organization for Wales in the S Teilo's Society, set on foot in 1889, mainly by the zeal of the late John Hobson Matthews. A few years later, in 1891, Catholic activity brought yet another

body into being—the Catholic Association, a title revived from the famous organization in the days of Daniel O'Connell.

Some others of the converts, since deceased, whose work belongs in part to this time, or whose reception into the Church took place within the period, included a number of men and women who will be remembered chiefly by their books : Luke Rivington, from the Cowley Fathers ; T. J. Gerrard ; David Bearne ; John E. Copus ; Richard Garrold ; —all these became priests—Lionel Johnson the poet ; and Mrs. Heneage Dering, previously Lady Georgiana Chatterton. Many more writers came into the Church, but their pens worked for secular literature. Among converts filling places in episcopal or public life were the Hon. Algernon Charles Stanley, later the well-known Bishop Stanley ; George F. S. Robinson, afterwards Marquess of Ripon and Viceroy of India ; and Lord Brampton, the eminent judge whose gratitude for the gift of faith showed itself in his thankoffering at Westminster—the Chapel of SS Gregory and Augustine in the Cathedral.

Developments in seminary and higher lay education were many : in this respect the period was fruitful in much advance, though not without also an occasional failure. Some may adjudge a failure Manning's experiment in West London, with a seminary to which he had transferred the divines from Old Hall in 1869, after considerable trouble and differences of view in the latter college in earlier

years. The Hammersmith seminary was placed under the care of Dr. William Weathers, whom the Cardinal chose in 1872 as bishop auxiliary; but in 1892 the building was closed by Cardinal Vaughan. Bishop Ullathorne established, in 1873, a diocesan seminary at Olton, near Birmingham; but this did not endure. Oscott College was closed, in 1889, to lay students, and reopened as a seminary only; and the buildings at Olton passed into Franciscan hands. At Salford the establishment, by Bishop Vaughan, of the Academia of the Catholic Religion was an effort of a different character, yet to be included among the Catholic educational and intellectual movements of the time. At Manchester, too, Herbert Vaughan had a proud day in 1880 when he opened the south wing of what is now the imposing building of S Bede's College. In that year also there was laid the foundation-stone of S Joseph's College at Upholland, near Wigan, opened in 1883 and more recently completed structurally by extensive additions. The Mill Hill missionary Fathers, in 1884, opened their college, dedicated to S Peter, at Freshfield, near Liverpool, from which house, only three years ago, part of the work found a new centre at Burn Hall, in the Hexham and Newcastle diocese. In the South of England about the same time (1884), a new college was begun at Woburn Park, Surrey, where the Josephite Fathers acquired a property from the 13th Lord Petre, a priest and Monsignore, who had opened a school there, a few years previously, which he subsequently gave up. The Josephites

transferred to that locality a school carried on by them at Croydon, and S George's College, as it stands to-day, shows the prosperity attending the move. At Battersea, in 1890, the Salesians, who had come to England three years previously, began the work which has since developed into the highly successful college in this part of South London. Another London development in higher education was the opening, by the Society of the Holy Child, of the training college in Cavendish Square, an event belonging to 1896. Two years later, the Dominicans reopened, at Hawkesyard, the school formerly at Hinckley. On the Tyneside, S Cuthbert's Grammar School had its beginning in 1881.

In Scotland there was founded, in 1874, S Peter's College at Partickhill, Glasgow, an institution transferred in 1892 to its present quarters at New Kilpatrick. Before the end of the century, too, builders were busy at Blairs, where under one of its most famous rectors, Æneas Chisholm, to whom allusion has already been made, the foremost Catholic college in the country was rising in a new and more worthy architectural form.

One of the most important stages in the enlargement of our educational opportunities came in 1895, in which year Propaganda issued leave for Catholics to go into residence at Oxford and Cambridge subject to proper provision being made for them in the way of Catholic worship and other safeguards to faith. In the past the question of University attendance had been a cause of controversy and

clashing views. Newman, as all know, was *pro;* Manning was no less strongly *con*, and the latter had had his way. Now, after further representations to Rome, and under another Archbishop, the permission was at length granted. Catholic chaplains are at work in the two University cities, which have also their distinctively Catholic societies, and the religious interests of Catholic undergraduates are thus well looked after.

Monasticism in the Kingdom during this period showed its first important further advance in 1876, by the beginning of the Benedictine house at Fort Augustus, Scotland, which in 1882 was raised to the dignity of an abbey immediately subject to the Holy See. It was at the suggestion, and by the financial help, of the Marquess of Bute that the sons of S Benedict made their foundation on the site, and in part with the buildings, of the old fort, given them by Simon the 15th Lord Lovat. The first block of new buildings, made possible by funds collected by Dom Jerome Vaughan, O.S.B., brother of the Cardinal, was opened in 1878 ; but it was not until 1890 that the fine church, designed by Peter Paul Pugin, was begun. For some years, until 1894, the monks had a school for boys, which they relinquished in that year in order that the community might devote itself solely to the things of the Rule.

Another monastery begun in 1876 was in England, at Erdington, near Birmingham. By the generosity of the Rev. Daniel Haigh four Benedictine monks

of the Beuron Congregation, exiled from Germany under the Falk Laws, were given an asylum and a handsome church in the Birmingham suburb. There they prospered and built their priory, afterwards erected into an abbey ; but the circumstances of the Great War brought unexpected difficulties, and some time after the signing of the peace treaty the community left England, to be succeeded at Erdington by Redemptorists.

We pass to 1882, in which year a letter in the *Tablet* attracted the attention of a community of French Benedictines, members of the Cassinese Congregation, and led to their acquiring the estate of Buckfast Abbey, in Devonshire. Here they have built, almost entirely by the labour of their own hands, a new and splendid abbey church on the foundations of the ancient abbey, so that Buckfast is now one of the tourist sights of the West Country. Yet two further abbeys were made : the first, in 1890, by the elevation of Ampleforth Priory to that higher dignity ; and a similar event at Ramsgate in 1896. The Solesmes Benedictines added another to the houses of the Order in England—S Michael's Priory, now S Michael's Abbey, at Farnborough. And while the activities of the monks are before us, it must be recorded that in 1899 Downside was raised by Pope Leo XIII to abbatial rank.

In 1883, on the octave of the feast of the Ascension, another event in monastic restoration was being hailed in the South. An estate of six hundred acres had been bought a few years previously by the

Carthusians, who now saw with joy the formal and canonical re-establishment of the Order in England at the great Charterhouse of S Hugh. The congregation assisting that day at the solemn Mass, sung by the Lord Prior and celebrated in the particular and ancient rite, may perhaps have turned their thoughts to another Carthusian Mass offered in very different circumstances—the last Mass in the chapel of the London Charterhouse.

Religious communities of women continued to strengthen our Catholic resources from overseas. It would need a very close application to reference books to make sure that all were included in any attempt to provide a full list, a task which cannot here be attempted ; but among the further Congregations coming into the country from abroad before 1900 were the Helpers of the Holy Souls, the Little Sisters of the Assumption, the Religious of the Cenacle, the Association of Perpetual Adoration, the Sisters of Charity of S Louis, the Sisters of Charity of Jesus and Mary, and the Sisters of the Poor Child Jesus. One Congregation not exotic in origin, but a most useful home product, is that of the Franciscan missionary sisters started by Cardinal Vaughan, when Bishop of Salford, as an auxiliary to his foreign missionary work.

Essays in Catholic journalism, in the years now before us, provide a theme leading for the most part along paths eventually closed, and thus not very profitable to pursue for their limited lengths. The most noteworthy effort was *Merry England*, which

began in May, 1883, with work from a brilliant company of writers, most of them non-Catholics: R. D. Blackmore, George Saintsbury, W. H. Hudson, Aubrey de Vere, and others. Later on, the magazine became more obviously papistical in character. Together with Catholic weeklies and other periodicals, *Merry England* eventually came to an end, one of a journalistic family in which *S Peter's*, *S Luke's*, and the *Catholic Magazine* (C.T.S.), can be remembered as younger members of the household. There was indeed a *Catholic Household* so entitled, the now almost forgotten enterprise of a zealous layman of his time.

Concerning the Law, a brief paragraph suffices. By the Act 34 and 35 Vict. c. 48, the Roman Catholic Oath was abolished. This was in 1871. Until the year 1880, when the Burial Laws Amendment Act (44 Vict. c. 41) put an end to such a situation, the majority of burial-places were under the control of the Church of England, and no Catholic priest could officiate at the graveside. Hence the anomaly that often, in an earlier period especially, the Church's prayers were read over the coffin in the dead person's house, and the Church of England service was recited at the interment. The Act of 1880, therefore, was one of real legal relief to Catholics.

But the most consoling events in the experiences of these thirty years came in 1888 and 1895: they round off this chapter as last in place, but they are first in importance. The former year brought the beatification of fifty-four of the English Martyrs, and

in 1895 eight more *beati* were added to the list. The formal process to this great end had been begun in London in June, 1874. The Roman courts also admitted the cause of a further 241 martyrs, who thus became enrolled among the "Venerables" of Holy Church.

CHAPTER IX

UNDER TWO KINGS

TWENTIETH-CENTURY EVENTS—THE ROYAL DECLARATION ABOLISHED—REMOVAL OF CATHOLIC DISABILITIES—*SAPIENTI CONSILIO*—A CHANGE AT WESTMINSTER—THE NEW PROVINCES—WESTMINSTER CATHEDRAL—THE EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS OF 1908—THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONGRESS—AN EFFECT OF THE ASSOCIATIONS LAW—DOUAI ABBEY—OTHER FOUNDATIONS—MASS IN ANCIENT ABBEY SITES—MATTERS EDUCATIONAL—PROGRESS AT OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE—SOME NEW ORGANIZATIONS—CHANGES IN THE EPISCOPATE

WITH the death of Queen Victoria, in January, 1901, we come to the twentieth century and so to modern times. What remains to be related of the Church's fortunes and further progress is so largely within the knowledge of most of us that this chapter is written more for the sake of completeness than in the hope of imparting information ; yet no record can afford to pass over with scant notice a period in which so much has been accomplished.

For one thing, the present century has seen the Sovereign and his Catholic subjects alike relieved, at the hands of the State, in matters concerning religion. When King Edward VII entered upon his royal inheritance, he was required, much against his will, to frame with his lips the anti-Catholic affront, stigmatizing the Mass, which had no place in his

heart. His present Majesty, George V—whom God preserve—had the happiness of being freed from a Constitutional obligation to wound Catholics in the most sacred doctrine of their faith. The old Royal Declaration had been swept away, in 1910, by the Government under Mr. Asquith, and in its place a simple affirmation that he was " a faithful Protestant " was required of the new monarch. As recently as 1926 there came that measure which in its way was a second instalment of Catholic Emancipation at law. By this Act practically all the remaining Catholic disabilities upon the Statute Book, most of them long obsolete in practice, were finally removed—subject, of course, to the Act of Settlement, and retaining the office of Lord Chancellor as a non-Catholic preserve.

We may note, too, among the stages of restored liberty and status marking progress in the land, that in 1908, by the Constitution *Sapienti Consilio*, Pope Pius X took England out of the category of " missionary countries," and transferred her to the common law of the Church. The significance of this step is better understood by canonists than by ordinary lay folk ; for the latter it is a sufficient cause for satisfaction that the country has thus been brought back to something like its old Catholic status in connection with matters of ecclesiastical government.

A new and eventful chapter in the history of the Province was opened on September 11, 1903, when the Bishop of Southwark, the Right Rev. Francis

Bourne, was translated to Westminster as Archbishop and Metropolitan. The new Archbishop was elevated to the Sacred College on November 27, 1911, the year which witnessed the subdivision of the Westminster Province by the creation of the separate provinces of Birmingham and Liverpool, of which the then Ordinaries, Bishop Ilsley and Bishop Whiteside, became respectively the first Archbishops. A few years later, on February 7, 1916, a fourth Metropolitan See was made, in Wales, the Most Rev. Dom Romanus Bilsborrow, O.S.B., as already related, becoming the first Archbishop of the then newly-created Archdiocese of Cardiff. His distinguished confrère in the Order, Bishop Hedley, had died, as Bishop of Newport and Menevia, only three months previously.

The archiepiscopal career of Cardinal Bourne synchronizes with the history of Westminster Cathedral, the building which, more than any other in the land, stands as the embodiment of Catholic progress in brick and stone. Bentley's great church had been in course of erection since 1895, watched in its progress by the prelate who had been its chief inspiring influence, Cardinal Vaughan. On the day when the foundation-stone was laid, Ireland joined England in blessing the enterprise, in the person of her primate, Cardinal Logue. Herbert Vaughan had doubtless looked forward to the day when, as the central figure in Westminster's ecclesiastical life, it would be his privilege to preside at the opening of the Cathedral. God willed that the wish should

be realized in another way. The Cardinal died on June 19, 1903, and the reception of his body in the still unfinished building gave Westminster Cathedral the only opening ceremony that it has ever had.

Considered simply as a diocesan church, Westminster Cathedral, for all its architectural interest and magnificence of adornment, would not call for reference here beyond and apart from the Cathedral churches of the other Catholic dioceses. It is even possible that some building of the future may outvie it on the material side. But a higher thought than anything connected with architecture applies to the Cathedral at Westminster in a sense which gives that edifice a unique place: it is the official and recognized centre in which Catholics and the Catholic faith stand before the State on great religious occasions. To the non-Catholic the Church of God has been able to present a larger aspect of her life and universality when some happening abroad—a pontifical or royal death, or a calamity such as that which laid Messina in ruins twenty years ago—has taken the representatives of the Royal House, and the Ambassadors and Ministers of foreign Powers, to an official requiem at Westminster Cathedral. The nature and number of such gatherings, since the requiem for Cardinal Vaughan in 1903, makes it surely no exaggeration to say that in this respect the Catholic Cathedral at Westminster is now more notably before the public than either Westminster Abbey or S Paul's.

The most widely representative assembly, how-

ever, that so far has supplicated God under the domes of Westminster Cathedral, is that which stands also for the largest and most important demonstration of Catholic faith witnessed in England in modern times. In September, 1908, the International Eucharistic Congress met for the first time on British soil. The choice of London for the nineteenth Congress was hailed with joy by the faithful not only in this country but throughout the Empire, and the events of those memorable days are not likely to be effaced, in this life, from the minds of those who took part in them. That Congress brought to London his Eminence Cardinal Vincenzo Vannutelli in the capacity of Papal Legate. It was the first occasion for upwards of three centuries when a Legate had set foot in England, so that his Eminence's reception at Westminster Cathedral on Wednesday, September 9, ranks as a function both joyous and historic.

The Eucharistic Congress, by its very constitution and nature, made the English metropolis a rallying-place for Catholics from many countries ; but the twentieth century has initiated also a series of National Catholic Congresses, developments, on a larger scale, of the annual Conferences organized and carried on for many years by the Catholic Truth Society. The first National Congress was held at Leeds in 1910 : thereafter came assemblies at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Norwich, Plymouth, and Cardiff. The Great War and its dislocations broke the continuity for some years ; and since then the Congress has been triennial : it has met at Liverpool,

Birmingham, and Manchester, and the 1929 meeting is to be at Westminster.

In the first chapter of this book reference was made to the part played by the French Revolution in restoring to England a considerable measure of the religious life, both of men and women. Early in the present century events in France were again to add many convents and monasteries to our resources, by the coming to this country of refugee Congregations as a consequence of the Associations Law. A number of dioceses profited spiritually by this accession of strength, nowhere more noticeable than in Westminster, Southwark, and Portsmouth. In 1903, for instance, the Benedictine Fathers who had carried on a school in the old college building at Douai were compelled to leave France and to seek another home in England. They were invited by Bishop Cahill to the Portsmouth diocese and took over a school building, S Mary's College, already existing at Woolhampton. There they began the work, religious and scholastic, of their new monastery, now Douai Abbey, where the foundation-stone was laid last year of what will be, when completed, one of the most magnificent monastic churches in the country, a building designed by Mr. Arnold Crush. Another Benedictine abbey of the century is that at Quarr, in the Isle of Wight, dating from 1908 ; and another, the home of the community formerly at Caldey Abbey, originally an Anglican foundation, who save for a few exceptions made their submission to the Church in 1913. These latter monks are now

at Prinknash Park, in Gloucestershire, an estate generously devised to them by the late Mr. T. Dyer Edwards, a convert. Their departure from Caldey has lately given to that island, in the same buildings that housed the former abbey, a community of Cistercians, who now therefore have a monastery in Wales as well as in England.

One of the results of the War has been to make it possible for some of the French communities to return to their native land. In this happy circumstance there is cause for rejoicing also on the part of Catholics in Great Britain: it is more to us that a barrier of persecution should be lowered in France than that we should consider the going of these Fathers and Sisterhoods from our midst as to that extent a reduction of Catholic strength in our own country.

Before we leave the subject of the monastic life, two further cases of restoration should be recorded, even though here the value lies in sentiment and not in material things. The present century has seen the celebration of Mass in the precincts of two of England's ruined abbeys—S Mary's Abbey at York, and Waverley Abbey near Farnham. At York the Holy Sacrifice has been offered, on the ancient altar-place, by the titular Abbot of York; and at Waverley the Cistercians returned for a day, last year, to keep, amid the ruins of their Surrey house, the eighth centenary of its foundation. Non-Catholic courtesy, it should be added, made both these events possible.

Elementary education, including the period now under review, has been dealt with in a previous

chapter; and in higher education, as is shown above, the twentieth century has added Douai School to the list of our larger educational institutions. Much more would have to be written to do justice to all that has been done in the past thirty years, alike in private and public schools, to advance Catholic faith and culture together. To take two cases in point, one in the South, the other in the North, and both of them belonging to the century's first decade: in 1908 S John's College at Southsea was established by the Brothers of the Christian Schools; and the same year saw the erection begun, by the Jesuit Fathers, of S Michael's College at Leeds. The Dominicans have added another Catholic educational centre to the map by the transfer of their school, Blackfriars, from Hawkesyard to its present seat at Laxton Hall, near Stamford, while still seeing education at work in the former house.

At Oxford, and at Cambridge, progress has been marked in a number of directions. One of the most important occurrences at Oxford, as witnessing to Catholic restoration in a literal and material sense, is the return of the Black Friars. The new Dominican priory, with its handsome church adjoining, gives the Order a home in the University city for the first time since the loss of their pre-Reformation house. At Grosseteste House the Franciscan Capuchins opened a few years ago their Oxford house of studies, and more recently they have assumed parochial responsibilities in the city. The Salesians have their house of studies at Cowley.

Benedictines and Jesuits were already established in houses of study at Oxford when the century opened. In the same county, at Heythrop, Chipping Norton—though this is travelling rather far afield from the University itself—the Society of Jesus opened three years ago their college dedicated to Blessed Robert Bellarmine. For social studies there is the Catholic Workers' College and the Catholic Social Guild, both of them fruits of twentieth-century activity.

At Cambridge, too, there has been a steady, if less widely representative, advance. Most of the history of S Edmund's House, the centre of studies for the secular clergy, belongs to the present century, though the work itself began in 1896; and the Downside Benedictines have for some time past had a house of studies in the city. Both at Oxford and Cambridge there have been held, in recent years, Summer Schools and other conferences, of which the annual Cambridge Summer School of Catholic Studies is the most noteworthy—added proof of the energy with which the Church is being served, in both places, on the intellectual plane.

In educational organization, with special reference to the interests of our elementary schools, an important step was taken in 1905 by the setting up of the Catholic Education Council, a body previously existent as the Catholic School Committee, but in that year reorganized and given an extended field of work, inclusive of matters relating to secondary schools. Education in another form, on the basis

of Catholic literature, saw the foundation, in 1912, of the Bexhill Library, an enterprise since absorbed in the work of the Catholic Truth Society.

Other Catholic organizations set on foot in the country in modern times include the Catholic Record Society, with its valuable work in transcribing and printing much important matter which might otherwise, in the course of time, be lost ; the Catholic Guild of Israel, an apostolate to the Jews ; the Catholic Evidence Guilds, associations carrying on the work of Catholic defence in the open which was begun, at an earlier time, by the Guild of Ransom ; the Catholic Council for International Relations ; and two widely-spread brotherhoods of Catholic men—the Catenian Association, established at Manchester in 1908 ; and the Knights of S Columba. That these organizations are only a selected few from a lengthy list can be seen by anybody who will go to pages 493–496 of this year's *Catholic Directory* and note the particulars of just upon fifty extra-diocesan or " national " societies, many of which have sprung into existence since 1901. To particularize in addition the purely diocesan organizations—rescue agencies, guilds, and other instituted works—would be a task far beyond the limits of the present small book. Any future historian who will set himself to the task of dealing exhaustively with the subject, will find in the multitude of Catholic organized efforts, covering almost every conceivable field of outlook—devotion, propaganda, church extension, charity, social reform, travel, and much

else—material for a demonstration that if anything the faithful are over-restless in religious energy.

Some of the changes in the Episcopate from 1901 onwards have been noticed incidentally as we have gone along; the others must now be set down in order to carry on and complete this aspect of our survey. Bishop Brownlow, of Clifton, died on November 9, 1901, and was succeeded in the following May by Dr. Burton. In the Diocese of Nottingham, also in 1901, the vacancy by Bishop Bagshawe's resignation was filled by the translation of Mgr. Brindle, auxiliary, from Westminster; he himself retired in June, 1915, twelve months before his death, and in February, 1916, Mgr. Thomas Dunn was consecrated to the See. October, 1902, brought the death of Bishop Vaughan of Plymouth. His coadjutor and successor, Mgr. Graham, ruled until February, 1911, when he resigned; and the diocese has recently had to mourn the death, last September, of Mgr. John Keily, who succeeded him. In Southwark, Mgr. Peter Amigo was consecrated on March 25, 1904, following the translation of Mgr. Bourne to Westminster.

Salford lost its bishop, Mgr. John Bilsborrow, by death, in March, 1903. His successor, Mgr. Louis Charles Casartelli, passed away in 1925, and in his place the diocese was given, in the same year, its present bishop, Mgr. Thomas Henshaw. Bishop Riddell of Northampton, during whose reign the magnificent church of S John at Norwich was built

by the generosity of the late Henry, Duke of Norfolk, died in September, 1907, and was succeeded by Mgr. Frederick William Keating : the latter's translation to Liverpool, in June, 1921, again created a vacancy at Northampton, filled in December of that year by the consecration of Mgr. Dudley Charles Cary-Elwes. In the Shrewsbury diocese, Bishop Allen's death, on May 13, 1908, was followed by the consecration of Mgr. Hugh Singleton. The death of Bishop Wilkinson, of Hexham and Newcastle, took place in April of the following year. In 1905 he had been given as auxiliary Mgr. Richard Collins ; that prelate succeeded him as diocesan and died in February, 1924 : eleven months later the consecration took place of the present bishop, Mgr. Joseph Thorman.

Although these episcopal details have so far been confined to the list of Ordinaries, an exception must be made at this point to honour the memory of a titular whose constant labours did much to keep smooth the official and organized ways of progress in many things. William A. Johnson, titular Bishop of Arindela, may be said almost literally to have lived his life in the old Archbishop's House at Westminster. Year in, year out, he was there to be found, at any time and on any day, never taking a holiday. Bishop Johnson died in 1909.

The Portsmouth diocese experienced its only change since 1901 by the death of Bishop Cahill on August 2, 1910. He was succeeded by his auxiliary, Mgr. William T. Cotter. There was one change also,

in the following year, in the Diocese of Leeds. Bishop Gordon, who among other things had built and opened the new Cathedral of St. Anne, died on June 7, his coadjutor, Mgr. Joseph R. Cowgill, succeeding.

The remaining changes to be recorded are all of recent years. These are : the death of Bishop Ward, and the consecration of Mgr. Arthur Doubleday, in the See of Brentwood in 1920 ; the translation of Bishop Mostyn to Cardiff, as Archbishop, in 1921, on Mgr. Bilsborrow's resignation ; the retirement, in the same year, of Archbishop Ilsley, and the translation, as Archbishop of Birmingham, of his auxiliary, Archbishop John McIntyre, who himself resigned only a few months ago ; the deaths of Archbishop Whiteside of Liverpool in January, 1921, and of his successor Archbishop Keating, in 1928, together with the consecration of the present Metropolitan, the Most Rev. Dr. Richard Downey ; the appointment, in 1921, of Mgr. Thomas Shine as coadjutor to the aged Bishop of Middlesbrough ; the consecration of Dom Wulstan Pearson, O.S.B., in February, 1925, as first Bishop of Lancaster ; and lastly—as to England and Wales—Mgr. Francis Vaughan's consecration to Menevia in September, 1926.

Episcopal changes in Scotland in the new century began with the consecration of Mgr. Angus MacFarlane, in May, 1901, to the vacant See of Dunkeld ; he died in September, 1912, and his successor, Mgr. Robert Fraser, after only about ten months' rule, in 1914, in which latter year the present bishop,

Mgr. John Toner, was appointed. To another diocese also the year 1914 brought a change, by the death of Bishop Turner of Galloway and the consecration of Mgr. James William McCarthy to succeed him. Two Scottish bishops died in 1918 : Bishop Chisholm, of Aberdeen, on January 13, and Bishop George Smith, of Argyll and the Isles, five days afterwards. Their respective successors were Mgr. George Bennett and Mgr. Donald Martin.

The Archdiocese of Glasgow lost its first archbishop under the restored hierarchy, Mgr. Eyre, in 1902. He died on March 27, and was succeeded, in the following August, by Archbishop John A. Maguire, his auxiliary since 1894. Archbishop Maguire's death occurred on October 14, 1920, and in May, 1922, the Most Rev. Donald Mackintosh was consecrated in Rome to the vacant See. The last death to record took place on November 25, 1928 : that of Dr. James A. Smith, Archbishop of S Andrews and Edinburgh, who since 1917 had delegated most of the active duties of the Archbishopric to his auxiliary, Mgr. Henry G. Graham.

To write of well-known twentieth-century converts and their work would be for the most part to touch upon the personalities and labours of men and women who are still living ; and in such a matter the pen must refrain. Some few have passed to their reward, among them Mgr. Robert Hugh Benson, and the two gifted ladies—Miss Katherine Bradley and her niece Miss Edith Cooper—whose poems live as the creations of " Michael Field."

CHAPTER X

A REVIEW OF FORCES

SOME STATISTICS OF 1929—THE MASS—BISHOPS AND PRIESTS—RELIGIOUS HOUSES—EDUCATION—SOCIAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—INTELLECTUAL WORKS—CATHOLIC EVIDENCE—PILGRIMAGES AND PROCESSIONS—THE CATHOLIC PRESS—PUBLIC LIFE—PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION—THOUGHTS ON THE "LEAKAGE"

IN an earlier page of this book we saw how John Henry Newman, in the course of his sermon on the Second Spring, described in imagination a vision of Bishop Milner's joy and wonder at the stately procession at Oscott which ushered in the first Provincial Synod of Westminster. Borrowing something of that fancy, we may think of Bishop Bramston, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District in 1829, as a marvelling shade at another procession in Westminster itself: the great outdoor pageant assembled in 1908 for the Eucharistic Congress. Or—since the past has now been surveyed and we have reached the present—we will suppose that the strivers for Catholic Emancipation could be reincarnated and brought earthwards to look upon the picture of the Church in this island as it presents itself to-day. What would they see?

First of all as to the Mass, in which is the real

test of Catholic progress. A hundred years ago, it has been shown, the faithful in Great Britain had perhaps as many as 450 altars. To-day Mass is being offered in upwards of 2600 places, not counting a great many domestic chapels in convents, institutions, and private houses. An examination of the map of England and Wales issued with the present year's *Catholic Directory* discloses, it is true, areas where churches are still few and far between ; but by contrast with any similar map which would show the state of things in 1829, the view presented is that of a country where the sense of pastoral duty in the bishops, and the generosity of the laity, have created, by the blessing of God, a wondrous change. That our churches and chapels throughout the kingdom, besides increasing to this extent in number, have advanced likewise in size and material splendour, is a minor consideration, yet not without its bearing upon the picture of the progress as a whole.

In place of the four Vicariates of 1829, eighteen dioceses, four of them metropolitan, are now the territorial units of ecclesiastical government in England and Wales ; whilst Scotland adds its own six dioceses, including two archbishoprics, to the list. More than thirty archbishops and bishops, and close upon five thousand priests, represent the present-day strength in ministrants, less whatever small deduction may be called for on account of clergy retired or laid by.

Religious Orders and Congregations have studded

the land with convents and monasteries to an extent which makes this particular aspect of the progress as remarkable as anything which has taken place during the hundred years. The first chapter of this survey showed a number of communities, a score or two at most and nearly all of them with a previous history on the Continent, scattered about Great Britain in 1829. The latest available statistics give a grand total of 1320 places in which professed religious are to be found. The list is of course a widely comprehensive one, ranging from the great abbeys to parochial houses in parishes served by the Orders, and from important and extensive convents to small communities of sisters or brotherhoods in charge of schools or other institutions. But the broad fact remains, to illustrate the restoration of the religious life in the kingdom, that the two nunneries—at York and at Hammersmith—which represented the only religious houses of women in the land in the eighteenth century, have increased to 953 ; and there are 367 places aided by the labours of Orders or Congregations of men.

Nor is this growth simply a multiplication of houses by the enterprise and zeal of a few Orders long established in the country. Many offshoots have been planted, in the course of the past hundred years, by religious Orders who were here in 1829 ; and, as this survey has from time to time noted, other congregations have since come from abroad or have had their birth within the land. Altogether there are now upwards of fifty separate Orders or

Congregations of men at work in Great Britain, and nearly 160 of women—a wonderful picture of the variety and many-sided usefulness of the religious life.

No note of boastfulness is to be sounded in recording this consoling fact; nor need any fair-minded Protestant in the country be other than thankful that so much organized devotion is available for the good of the nation as a whole. In the monasteries and convents of the contemplative Orders there is constant prayer for the graces which strengthen the land and its people; while as to the social and educational work of the active Congregations, who unless blinded by wilful anti-Catholic prejudice would willingly part with the Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of Mercy, and the multitude of other religious whose work it is to care for the poor, or would see the country deprived of the moral and cultural force which is supplied by the teaching Orders?

On this last-named matter of education, a previous chapter has dealt with the growth of Catholic elementary schools; of these there are now about 1300 in England and Wales. The proportion of secondary to elementary schools is high: the Catholic secondary schools number just upon five hundred; but in this respect girls are much better catered for than boys. In status our chief Catholic public schools rank, educationally and socially, with the best of those outside the Church. "Recognition" has its own forms among the Gentlemen of England,

and it is no empty compliment which nowadays invites a Catholic school eleven to show its prowess at Lord's. The story is probably illustrative rather than true which relates the reply to a Catholic school's sporting challenge: "Eton we know, and Harrow we know; but who the devil are you?" To-day Eton and Beaumont are in the position to talk of their contests on the river; and so with our other Catholic schools. Is this a decline of snobbery? No, for snobbery was not a quality in the healthy boyhood of previous generations. It is a reflection of the happy demise of religious prejudice.

Of the Church's institutional machinery, apart from that directly concerned with education, much might be written. The field is so large, the activities so diversified, that nothing short of a detailed examination would do justice to the picture. Such an examination is not here to be attempted. It must suffice to point, in a general way, to the existence of Catholic social and charitable institutions which, in the aggregate of their material extent, would make no insignificant town. Hospitals and nursing homes under religious; rescue homes for the fallen or the destitute; almshouses and refuges for the aged poor; agencies for feeding the hungry, caring for the deaf and dumb, tending the blind. There are scores of Catholic institutions under the Poor Law; organizations for prison service; friendly societies; clubs; works for seafarers, and so forth.

In the organized intellectual sphere we had better

not say that we do more than keep pace with the zeal of our Catholic forefathers: they had their literary societies, their lecturing agencies, their various media for interchanging ideas. On a larger scale only, in degree not in kind, are these things manifested in our own generation; but it is part of the record to be set down, of the Catholic forces in the country to-day, that organizations such as the Catholic Truth Society, the Catholic University societies, the Lingard Society, the Reading Guild, and the many Catholic lending libraries throughout the country, prove that the work of diffusing knowledge has gone hand in hand, in growth, with the increase of Catholic strength. In one matter the twentieth century has shown a great advance over the pioneer efforts of the nineteenth, namely, in the public exposition of Catholic teaching by C.E.G. and other workers.

Proclamation of faith on the devotional side has restored to Great Britain something of the pre-Reformation atmosphere belonging to pilgrimages and outdoor processions. These demonstrations are now familiar things: some of them, as at Canterbury, have revived famous pilgrimages of Catholic times; others, e.g. the pilgrimages to Carfin Grotto in Scotland, afford new outlets for devotion. In modern times, too, thanks largely to the Catholic Association and the Society of Our Lady of Lourdes, Catholics in this country are frequently, and in growing number, pilgrims to shrines overseas. More hidden, but not less

important, is the rapid progress of the Retreat movement as a spiritually strengthening influence.

The Catholic periodical press shows, as yet, no definite move towards a daily newspaper; our newsmen divide their industry in a field covered by four weeklies, here named in order of seniority by age: the *Tablet*, the *Universe*, the *Catholic Times*, and the *Catholic Herald*. But when we turn from this rather sparse output to the monthly and quarterly publications, the increase is very marked as against the position a few generations ago. At the National Catholic Congress held in Manchester in 1926, one of the features was a display, arranged by the Catholic Truth Society, of Catholic periodicals in English. Apart from newspapers, upwards of fifty monthly or quarterly publications issued in Great Britain were exhibited, in a collection not free from gaps.

The subject of Catholics in public life, whether by civic, national, or imperial service, is one that obviously can be touched upon only lightly, since here we come to a matter in which those most nearly concerned are still living. But it may be noted, as a commentary upon the apprehensions of many English Protestants, in pre-Emancipation days, as to what might follow from the granting of political liberty to their Catholic fellow-countrymen, that in nothing has doleful prophecy proved more at fault than in the thought that Popery and Patriotism could never work in double harness. To say nothing of the past years since 1829, with their sterling

record of Catholic service in practically every department of the State, the present day shows us Catholics holding high offices in all parts of the British Commonwealth, and others retired after distinguished public careers. A list of about 130 Catholic knights stands in part demonstration of the fact. In all this there is nothing of any very great significance: it means no more than that Catholics, like other citizens and subjects of the realm, have taken their share in public work; but the fact itself is full justification for the Catholic Emancipation measure, apart altogether from the consideration of abstract justice.

In one respect—and this by special circumstances—Catholic representation has declined: there are fewer Catholics in the House of Commons, a constitutional result of the Irish Treaty. This loss, however, has its compensation, so far as concerns the interests of the Church in Great Britain, in the happy knowledge that Irish self-government has removed a grievance which admittedly, in old days, estranged the sympathies of many Irish Catholics, in things other than the faith, from their English co-religionists. The will and power to "pull together" in political crises is greater than ever before; and thus, while many regret the going of Ireland's Catholic representatives from Westminster, they realize how the faithful of both countries have really been drawn nearer to one another by the change. Also, though Catholic numerical strength in Parliament has lost in this way, we should

remember that the Irish Party had a unique position in the House: for one thing, they never took office; and we are not entitled to borrow them, so to speak, and to cram them into the statistical scale when making comparisons in a survey confined to Great Britain. The real indication of Catholic Parliamentary progress in the Commons is in the heartening fact that whereas, for a great many years, the Catholic members for English, Welsh, or Scottish constituencies numbered half a dozen or so, the present year's total is stated as twenty. Nearly fifty names point to our Catholic strength in the peerage.

In the midst of all this cheerfulness it may occur to the reader that a certain grim consideration has so far been overlooked. What of the "leakage"—an overworked and inapposite word? That many Catholics, from various causes, culpable and other, fall away from the practice of their religion is true, but not more true than it has been of every period of Christian history; nor are we to suppose that in this matter Great Britain stands apart to be the byword and reproach of other countries. The leakage, so-called, is to be deplored, and many remedies are being constantly applied in efforts to reduce it; but we should beware of exaggerating the evil.

When tests of religious adhesion are made, every now and again, locally, by newspapers or other agencies, the volume of Catholic churchgoing is

found to preponderate very largely, in proportion, over that of any non-Catholic religious body. It is no consolation that Protestant Christians in Great Britain have to a large extent given up Sunday worship: that thought will not help our own leakage question; but the fact that this very much larger measure of Catholic than Protestant religious practice is uniformly demonstrated whenever such tests are made, should at least be a counsel of moderation to those among us who speak and write of the leakage as though it were a stream ever widening and threatening to drain the Church. Anti-Catholic writers have quoted with much gusto such terrified outpourings as that "we lose far more than we gain." If that really represented the state of things, the dwindling would soon show itself in mathematics.

Every bishop, and every priest with parochial experience, knows that the Church does not set up additional altars, enlarge existing church fabrics, and build new schools, without cause. Our increasing number of priests in the country is not now too large, but still sadly too small. In some districts circumstances may deprive the parish priest of a large part of his congregation: mines cease to be worked, a great iron foundry closes down, factory labour is removed elsewhere—these are accidental and exceptional causes of local loss; but in themselves they are no proof of leakage. Facts are stubborn things, and the fact that we do lose many from the Catholic ranks is not to be gainsaid; but

in envisaging the whole position in Great Britain in terms of loss and gain, we can point equally to that which these pages have been at pains to demonstrate —the steady increase of the Church of God throughout the land, in numbers, resources, and power.

CHAPTER XI

SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

PROTESTANT ENGLAND, 1829: NON-PROTESTANT ENGLAND, 1929—FACTORS IN THE CHANGE—RATIONALISM, INDIFFERENCE, AND THE "ANGLO-CATHOLICS"—THE POPULAR ATTITUDE—A WORD FOR THE BRITISH PRESS—NATIONAL HOSTILITY CONQUERED—WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

A HUNDRED years ago, the saying: "Scratch an Englishman and you find a Protestant," was largely true. The more educated classes, even when pleading for and supporting the case for toleration, looked upon the teachings of the Catholic Church for the most part with amused contempt; while as to the population generally, it is enough to say that then and for a great many years afterwards any anti-Catholic speaker or pamphleteer commanded a ready following for his views. The press, too, as has been shown in the course of these pages, could be trusted to take the Protestant side with practical unanimity. As subjects and citizens, business partners or social companions, Catholics were taken to the national bosom and were there made fairly comfortable; but there was no pretence of other than aversion for the supposedly "un-English" and unscriptural standpoints represented by their religious doctrines.

All this has greatly changed. To-day England remains a Protestant country in her Crown and in many official labellings; and, moreover, the Protestant, or evangelical, strength is seen at times of political tussle to be by no means inconsiderable; but of the people as a whole it can no longer be said that they constitute a Protestant nation in belief and sentiment. Rationalism, one deplores, has made inroads to an extent which has taken large numbers away from Christianity altogether; whilst a still greater mass, although retaining a certain nebulous respect for Christian ideas, are strangers to religious practice. Holding, as they imagine, the scales of Justice admirably well, these latter consider that "one religion is as good as another," and on so even a plane the Catholic gets as firm a footing in their sight as his Protestant neighbour.

Among those non-Catholic Englishmen who both profess and practise Christianity, the doctrinal tendency is to get away more and more from particularly Protestant conceptions. High Church or "Anglo-Catholic" belief might nowadays make its affirmations on almost every page, if not almost every paragraph, of our own Catechism of Christian Doctrine; and among Nonconformists there are movements—e.g. the "Free Catholic" movement—which we are entitled to look upon also as straws in the wind.

These closing pages will not debate the question whether souls in their quest of Catholic truth are

more helped or more hindered by the zeal and teachings of the extreme High Church Anglican wing. As bearing upon future possibilities for the Catholic Church in Great Britain, however, it may at least be emphasized that whereas the old-time generations were brought up to look upon distinctive Catholic beliefs and practices with disfavour, many thousands of children and young persons to-day are being taught in the Church of England that those beliefs and practices should be cherished beyond price. Souls may come to the security of the faith, or souls may be kept away ; but at any rate a new mental and religious outlook is being formed, towards the future moulding of the people, in which Our Lady is not denied in her Dowry and there is respect and love, where once there was hatred, in regard also to many other Catholic doctrines.

The respectful demeanour of the populace towards public Catholic manifestations is a matter in which enthusiasts are sometimes apt to see too much. A crowd is not necessarily being drawn nearer to us because the men and women composing it are passively polite when a religious procession goes by. They would probably take up a no less civil and interested attitude in face of a pageant of Buddhists. Religious indifference, not religious principle, is very often the basis of tolerance. It is as well to set forth this side of the shield, for only so can we justly exhibit its other and more consoling aspect. At one time a British crowd would have been civil

to the Buddhists but *not* to the Catholics : therein lies much to ponder. Anti-Catholic sentiment would have been strong enough to become demonstrative. England was then a Protestant country. She is so no longer, except in the formal and official sense. Cleavages by opposing schools of thought in the Established Church, and a general restlessness and dissidence of religious expression, have produced the situation that Catholics are now the largest homogeneous religious body in the land.

As for the press, where after all we look to find the mirror of the people, Catholics have little cause to complain that they do not get fair treatment. At times ignorance begets blunders ; now and again there are ebullitions of prejudice ; a nominally Protestant country would be a poor thing if it could not sometimes produce an editor or two to stand up for that side. But, generally speaking, the British press gives the Catholic Church a willing hearing and an equal show. Catholic publicists are sought after. The Catholic view is invited in any canvassing for religious opinions on social or political topics.

All this means, in one sense, very little ; in another, very much. By participation and co-operation, Catholics take their proper part in the life of the country, and receive their share of newspaper and public attention ; if consideration of the matter began and ended with that fact, complacency would rest satisfied with a poor meal. The significance lies in this : that the Church has overcome

the hostility of a people, and now enjoys, in her moral mission, the knowledge of national goodwill. Our Catholic forefathers in 1829 embraced their newly-given opportunities in a spirit which, as we have seen, led to great things. A religious and political atmosphere wonderfully different from that of a hundred years ago surrounds us, their successors, at the centenary. From the strength and possibilities of 1929, what should be the future unfolding? Only God knows its measure; but to some of this generation it will be given to play a part. They can be trusted to stand up for their faith; and—one last homiletical word—this is a more fruitful exercise to those who also kneel down for it.

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